

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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VOLUME II
ARTHUR—BUNYAN

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

REF
BL 31
.E44
1908
v. 2

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A.R. = Anno Hijrac (A.D. 622).
 Ak. = Akkadian.
 Alex. = Alexandrian.
 Amer. = American.
 Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
 Apocr. = Apocrypha.
 Aq. = Aquila.
 Arab. = Arabic.
 Aram. = Aramaic.
 Arm. = Armenian.
 Ary. = Aryan.
 As. = Asiatic.
 Assyr. = Assyrian.
 AT = Altes Testament.
 AV = Authorized Version.
 AVm = Authorized Version margin.
 A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).
 Bab. = Babylonian.
 c. = *circa*, about.
 Can. = Canaanite.
 cf. = compare.
 ct. = contrast.
 D = Deuteronomist.
 E = Elohist.
 edd. = editions or editors.
 Eryp. = Egyptian.
 Eng. = English.
 Eth. = Ethiopic.
 EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.
 f. = and following verse or page.
 ff. = and following verses or pages.
 Fr. = French.
 Germ. = German.
 Gr. = Greek.
 H = Law of Holiness.
 Heb. = Hebrew.
 Hel. = Hellenistic.
 Hex. = Hexateuch.
 Himy. = Himyaritic.
 Ir. = Irish.
 Iran. = Iranian.

Isr. = Israelite.
 J = Jahwist.
 J' = Jehovah.
 Jerus. = Jerusalem.
 Jos. = Josephus.
 LXX = Septuagint.
 Min. = Minean.
 MSS = Manuscripts.
 MT = Massoretic Text.
 n. = note.
 NT = New Testament.
 Onk. = Onkelos.
 OT = Old Testament.
 P = Priestly Narrative.
 Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
 Pent. = Pentateuch.
 Pers. = Persian.
 Phil. = Philistine.
 Phoen. = Phœnician.
 Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
 R = Redactor.
 Rom. = Roman.
 RV = Revised Version.
 RVm = Revised Version margin.
 Sab. = Sabæan.
 Sam. = Samaritan.
 Sem. = Semitic.
 Sept. = Septuagint.
 Sin. = Sinaitic.
 Skr. = Sanskrit.
 Symm. = Symmachus.
 Syr. = Syriac.
 t. (following a number) = times.
 Talm. = Talmud.
 Targ. = Targum.
 Theod. = Theodotion.
 TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
 tr. = translated or translation.
 VSS = Versions.
 Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
 WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samnel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.	Jon = Jonah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Mic = Micah.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Nah = Nahum.
Est = Esther.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Job.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Ps = Psalms.	Hag = Haggai.
Pr = Proverbs.	Zec = Zechariah.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.	To = Tobit.
	Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.	Sus = Susanna.
Wis = Wisdom.	Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.	Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.
Three = Song of the Three Children.	

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
Mk = Mark.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Lk = Luke.	Tit = Titus.
Jn = John.	Philem = Philemon.
Ac = Acts.	He = Hebrews.
Ro = Romans.	Ja = James.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Gal = Galatians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Eph = Ephesians.	Jude.
Ph = Philippians.	Rev = Revelation.
Col = Colossians.	

III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
 Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901-05.
 Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).
 Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
 Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897-1902.
 Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
 Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
 Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886-90.
 De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*³, 1905.
 Denzinger = *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹¹, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
 Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
 Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
 Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, 3 vols. 1875-78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882-88.
 Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
 Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
 Holtzmann-Zöpfel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*², 1895.
 Howitt = *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904.
 Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.
 Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², 1904.
 Lane = *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863 ff.
 Lang = *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², 2 vols. 1899.
 Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849-60.
 Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
 Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
 McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894-96.
 Muir = *Orig. Sanscrit Texts*, 1858-72.
 Müss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
 Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
 Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.
 Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.
 Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
 Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
 Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*², 1893-94.
 Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², 1856.
 Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.
 Schafl-Herzog = *The New Schafl-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
 Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869-75.
 Schürer = *GJV*³, 3 vols. 1898-1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
 Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
 Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
 Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 1899.
 Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*⁴, 1897.
 Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*², 1894.
 Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*³, 1885-96.
 Spencer-Gillen^a = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
 Spencer-Gillen^b = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
 Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
 Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*³, 1891 [⁴1903].
 Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872-74.
 Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*², 1897.
 Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
 Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
 Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*², 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

- AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
 AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
 ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
 AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
 AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
 AHR = American Historical Review.
 AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
 AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
 AJP = American Journal of Psychology.
 AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
 AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
 APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
 APF = Archiv für Papyrussforschung.
 AR = Anthropological Review.
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
 AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
 ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
 AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
 BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
 BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
 BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
 BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
 BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
 BL = Bampton Lectures.
 BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
 BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
 BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
 BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
 BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
 BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
 BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
 BW = Biblical World.
 BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

- CAIBL*=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CE=Catholic Encyclopedia.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscript. Atticarum.
CIE=Corpus Inscript. Etruscarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscript. Graecarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscript. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*²; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
CLR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.
DAC=Dict. of the Apostolic Church.
DACL=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWA W=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
EI=Encyclopædia of Islâm.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1835).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB=Golden Bough (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI=Handbook of American Indians.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HL=Hibbert Lectures.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report.
IG=Inscript. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).
IGA=Inscript. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908-09).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFL=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASBe=Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTh=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Literaturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPTTh=Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI=Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASC=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JRASK=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JRS=Journal of Roman Studies.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
*KAT*²=Die Keilinschriften und das AT² (Schrader), 1833.
*KAT*³=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.
KB or *K/B*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCEI=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary.
OLZ=Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.

<i>PASB</i> = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.	<i>SBAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PB</i> = Polychrome Bible (English).	<i>SBB</i> = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>PBE</i> = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.	<i>SBE</i> = Sacred Books of the East.
<i>PC</i> = Primitive Culture (Tylor).	<i>SBOT</i> = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
<i>PEFM</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.	<i>SDB</i> = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
<i>PEFSt</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.	<i>SK</i> = Studien und Kritiken.
<i>PG</i> = Patrologia Græca (Migne).	<i>SMA</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
<i>PJB</i> = Preussische Jahrbücher.	<i>SSGW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PL</i> = Patrologia Latina (Migne).	<i>SWAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PNQ</i> = Punjab Notes and Queries.	<i>TAPA</i> = Transactions of American Philological Association.
<i>PR</i> = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).	<i>TASJ</i> = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
<i>PRE</i> ³ = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).	<i>TC</i> = Tribes and Castes.
<i>PRR</i> = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.	<i>TES</i> = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
<i>PRS</i> = Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>ThLZ</i> = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
<i>PRSE</i> = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.	<i>ThT</i> = Theol. Tijdschrift.
<i>PSBA</i> = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.	<i>TRHS</i> = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
<i>PTS</i> = Pali Text Society.	<i>TRSE</i> = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
<i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique.	<i>TS</i> = Texts and Studies.
<i>RAnth</i> = Revue d'Anthropologie.	<i>TSBA</i> = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>RAS</i> = Royal Asiatic Society.	<i>TU</i> = Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>RAssyr</i> = Revue d'Assyriologie.	<i>WAI</i> = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
<i>RB</i> = Revue Biblique.	<i>WZKM</i> = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>RBEW</i> = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
<i>RC</i> = Revue Critique.	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>RCel</i> = Revue Celtique.	<i>ZATW</i> = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RCh</i> = Revue Chrétienne.	<i>ZCK</i> = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
<i>RDM</i> = Revue des Deux Mondes.	<i>ZCP</i> = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
<i>RE</i> = Realencyclopädie.	<i>ZDA</i> = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
<i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques.	<i>ZDMG</i> = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
<i>REG</i> = Revue Égyptologique.	<i>ZDPV</i> = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>REJ</i> = Revue des Études Juives.	<i>ZE</i> = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
<i>REth</i> = Revue d'Ethnographie.	<i>ZKF</i> = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
<i>RGG</i> = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.	<i>ZKG</i> = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
<i>RHLR</i> = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.	<i>ZKT</i> = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
<i>RHR</i> = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.	<i>ZKWL</i> = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
<i>RM</i> = Revue du monde musulman.	<i>ZM</i> = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
<i>RN</i> = Revue Numismatique.	<i>ZNTW</i> = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RP</i> = Records of the Past.	<i>ZPhP</i> = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
<i>RPh</i> = Revue Philosophique.	<i>ZTK</i> = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
<i>RQ</i> = Römische Quartalschrift.	<i>ZVK</i> = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
<i>RS</i> = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.	<i>ZVRW</i> = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
<i>RSA</i> = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.	<i>ZWT</i> = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
<i>RSI</i> = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.	
<i>RTAP</i> = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.	
<i>RTP</i> = Revue des traditions populaires.	
<i>RThPh</i> = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.	
<i>RTr</i> = Recueil de Travaux.	
<i>RVV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.	
<i>RWB</i> = Realwörterbnch.	

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*², *LOT*⁶, etc.]

ASCETICISM.

Introduction (T. C. HALL), p. 63.
 Buddhist (C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 69.
 Celtic (E. ANWYL), p. 71.
 Christian (O. ZÖCKLER), p. 73.
 Egyptian.—See Semitic.
 Greek (W. CAPELLE), p. 80.
 Hindu (A. S. GEDEN), p. 87.

Japanese (M. REVON), p. 96.
 Jewish (A. E. SUFFRIN), p. 97.
 Muhammadan (R. A. NICHOLSON), p. 99.
 Persian (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 105.
 Roman (J. S. REID), p. 106.
 Semitic and Egyptian (G. A. BARTON), p. 110.

I. INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION AND DEFINITION.—'Asceticism' is derived from the Gr. word *ἀσκησις* = 'training.' The 'athlete' was one trained, and one might be an 'athlete' in virtue (*πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀθλητής*, Diod. *Excerpt.* 551). So very early the ascetic became the spiritual athlete of Church History. Two quite different conceptions mingle in the history of asceticism. One of these preserves the original meaning of discipline of the body for some ultimate purpose, as when William James urges sacrifice to God and duty as a means of training the will (*Psychology*, vol. ii. p. 322, cf. also pp. 579–592). The other conception distrusts the body altogether. Asceticism has then as its function not the training but the destroying of the body or the negation of its importance.

1. Pathological elements in asceticism.—From the beginning we have to bear in mind that in the history of asceticism we are often dealing with phenomena distinctly *pathological*. The fact that this has only recently been fully recognized makes a critical investigation of all the phenomena exceedingly desirable. Whether we deal with the 'flagellantes' or with instances of *perversio vite sexualis*, we must recognize a distinctly psycho-pathological element in much of the self-torture and self-abnegation that goes by the name of asceticism. The close connexion between the excited emotions in the regions of love and religion has often been pointed out and variously explained (Neumann, *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie*, p. 80; Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, pp. 9–11); and in diseased conditions insane impulses to inflict pain and to suffer pain mark the mind controlled either by religious or by sexual emotions. It is not now difficult for the modern psychiatrist to recognize in the standard saints' stories of the Middle Ages many impulses familiar to him from his experience in the Insane Hospital, but which were, of course, at that time regarded only as evidence of piety and distinguished fellowship with God (Friedreich, *Gerichtliche Psychologie*, p. 389). Perversions of the natural impulses to protect the body from pain and destruction may range from slight and occasional contradictions to the madness of suicide. Thus no history of asceticism is complete that does not take into account the epidemics of hysteria in which all kinds of excesses against the body are committed. These outbreaks are common in Persia as well as in India, and marked the north of Italy from the 10th cent. until the 13th. At every step of a rational inquiry into asceticism in its most pronounced phases we must ask ourselves, How far are we dealing with distinctly morbid and neuro-pathic phenomena?

LITERATURE.—Maudsley, *Pathology of the Mind*, London, 1879; Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Stuttgart, 1887, *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie*, 1879; Friedreich, *Diagnostik der psya. Krankheiten*?, Würzburg, 1832, and *System der gerichtl. Psychologie*, Regensburg, 1842; Cramer, *Gerichtl. Psychiatrie* 4, 1908; H. Neumann, *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie*, Erlangen, 1850.

2. Survival forms in seeming asceticism.—We must also deal with *survival forms* which are falsely classed as ascetic. Customs are classed as ascetic even by so critical an historian as Zöckler (*Askese und Mönchtum*?, 1897) which may more correctly be connected with the survival of

older moralities. Thus the Essenes saw the hope of Israel in desert life and in return to a seminomad communism. How far this was ascetic, however, it is impossible to say. To be ascetic this type of communism must be shown to be connected either (a) with a disciplinary process for the attainment of righteousness, or (b) with a complete negation of the body by its mortification. Even granting that the Essenes were ascetics (cf., however, art. 'Essenes' in Hastings' *DB*, in which this is not emphasized), all their peculiarities are not to be connected with their asceticism. Professional men in our age wear black coats, not from motives of asceticism, but as survivals of past fashions. The robes of the monks, the communism of various sects, the treating of vegetable diet as superior to meat diet, may all be connected with ascetic modes of life, but they may also be mere survivals of past customs, or a recrudescence of old ideals. In new social and economic situations past moralities see much to blame, and can find hope only in reverting to the outward simpler life of the past and its forms. Such reversion is, however, only in a secondary sense ascetic. It is, nevertheless, true that the ascetic finds a ready discipline in such reversions; and cave-dwellings, communism, vegetarianism, primitive dress, etc., all play their part in the history of asceticism, but must be always examined carefully when they occur, for they may appear, where no ascetic motive proper can be shown, simply as survivals.

LITERATURE.—Ritschl, *Entstehung d. altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1857, pp. 179–203, for discussion of Essenes as ascetics; see also *Naturforscherversammlung*, viii. 184, Hamburg, 1893; Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*?, Berlin, 1906, pp. 484–496; Lucius, *Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältniss zum Judentum*, Strassburg, 1881; Schürer, *HJP* n. ii. 138 ff.; art. 'Essenes' in Hastings' *DB* by Conybeare, in *DCG* by C. A. Scott, in *EBI* by Jülicher, in *PRE* by Uhlhorn; *JQR* vii. 558, viii. 155.

3. Symbolic forms mistaken for asceticism.—Some customs are not ascetic, but are *symbolic forms*. Primarily asceticism consists in the contradiction of natural desires under the mandate of some higher, or supposed higher, ideal set by the will before the life. Such contradiction involves pain and discomfort for the person, that the body may be disciplined into subjection or removed as a hindrance to the soul's development. Soon, however, such contradictions are symbolized, and the symbols become conventional, the original significance being sometimes lost. Thus the tonsure, shaving the head, peculiar clothing, taking the last place in the procession, etc., may become mere symbols of what was once the expression of an attempt at self-mortification. Here again the student must be careful to mark customs that have become binding through usage or enactment, and that may seem ascetic, as the wearing of phylacteries, or broadened borders to garments (Mt 23⁵), but which in truth may have an entirely different motive, this motive being either sanitary or æsthetic, or based on racial distinction, on misinterpreted phrases from religious authority, or the like. Sometimes a symbol with such past significance becomes a sign of self-mortification. The wearing of sandals had no ascetic significance as it arose in a hot country, but, transferred to the north of Europe, it became a familiar symbol of self-denial among the monastic orders.

4. **Disciplinary asceticism.**—Every system of morals enforces the discipline of the will, and all systems of developed casuistry suggest methods of such discipline (cf. Paulsen, *System d. Ethik*⁵, vol. ii. pp. 10-29, ed. 1900; and the 'Spiritual Exercises' of the Roman Communion). In this definition might be included, therefore, all exercises undertaken as training of the moral life, and carried through not for the sake of the exercise but for the effect produced upon the person using it. Thus also spiritual exercises may have a mingled motive, on the one side the pleasure of actual participation, and on the other obedience to the impulse to overcome habitual sloth by doing what is at the moment unpleasant or even painful. So fundamental has regularity been to life's development (cf. Wundt's *Ethik*, ed. 1886, p. 120), that religion has ever insisted upon recurrent periods of religious exercise in festivals, Sundays, hours of sacrifice and prayer, etc. And the ethical value of enforced regularity has been so apparent that in all developed religious systems disciplinary asceticism has had a more or less pronounced place. In evangelical Protestantism, tithes, church-going, grace before meat, family devotions are felt to have this disciplinary value, apart from the spiritual mood of the moment, and sometimes in spite of felt unreality on the devotional side. The substitution of the rational and significant for the arbitrary and mysterious in religious acts has gone far in Protestantism, but perhaps at some loss to the disciplinary effectiveness of these acts. In the Roman Communion, the division of the year, the month, and even the day, is minutely undertaken; and, viewed as a means of ascetic discipline of the life, such divisions have untold influence. Asceticism in this sense has the commendation of all great Protestant writers (cf. Luther's Sermon 'Von den guten Werken,' 1520). Acts that have no value *per se* may become disciplinary measures of great usefulness as means to gain self-control, regularity of life, proper self-appreciation, etc. It may be necessary for the moral man to exercise himself spiritually, as a man of thought trains his thinking capacity and subjects it to severe tests, or as the physical athlete engages in increasingly severe bodily exercise for the development of his muscle. The NT writers, and especially St. Paul, abound in directions along this line (Ro 8¹⁻¹⁴, 1 Co 9²⁴⁻²⁷, Ja 3¹⁻¹²). The temptation to attribute to such exercises a special merit *per se*, and to harden them into a legal bondage, is so great that it has made Protestantism fearful in developing the ascetic life, perhaps even along legitimate lines. In the study of asceticism, however, the student must carefully keep present to his mind this legitimate element amid the legalistic and dualistic distortions.

LITERATURE.—Paulsen, *System d. Ethik*⁵, Berlin, 1900, ii. 10-29; Wundt, *Ethik*, Stuttgart, 1886, p. 120; Black, *Culture and Restraint*, London, 1901, p. 187; Harnack, *What is Christianity?* Eug. tr. 1904, p. 81.

5. **Dualistic asceticism.**—The popular conceptions of asceticism have grown up in connexion with the experience of it linked with a distinct attitude towards life. In this thought the material body is inherently evil, and the spiritual element is alone good. (For the history of this, see the §§ 'Indian Asceticism' and 'Greek Asceticism,' p. 65). The object of ascetic exercise is not the *training* of the body, but its ultimate *extinction*, that the soul may be free (cf. Plato's *Timæus*, 69-71). This is a metaphysical dualism which separates soul and body, God and the world, material and spiritual, into sharply contrasted realities, and life is looked at more or less as the struggle for supremacy and the ultimate victory of spirit by the extinction of the material and lower elements. There are all degrees of this metaphysical dualism,

from the sharp emphasis upon the negative work of destroying the body, that the soul may be free from its desires and itself cease (cf. Max Müller on 'Nirvāṇa' in *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. pp. 276-287), to the positive emphasis upon union with God on the part of the soul by abstraction, contemplation, and faith, as in modern Pietism (cf. A. Ritschl's *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. i. pp. 1-60). In all shades of this thinking, asceticism plays its part. World-flight in various degrees becomes the standard of holiness. It may be only abstinence from certain forms of amusement, or it may be the life of Trappist silence, but what determines the conduct is not loving expediency within the realms of a Christian freedom (Gal 5¹), using the world but not abusing it (cf. Augustine, *de vera Religione*, §§ 21 and 36), but world-flight, as from that which is inherently antagonistic to spiritual perfection (cf. A. Ritschl, *Die christliche Vollkommenheit*, 1902). This dualistic asceticism always results in establishing a double standard of holiness. The exigencies of social organization enable only a few actually to realize world-flight to any extent; for the average man some symbolic or sacramental substitute must be found. Hence the whole doctrine of merit grows up with dualistic asceticism, as thus enabling a chosen few to flee from the world and impart of their holiness to less fortunate or less gifted followers. In the history of asceticism, upon which we now enter, we shall find many elements mingling, and it is often impossible and always difficult exactly to determine with which special conception we have to do.

LITERATURE.—Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, i. 276-287; Ritschl, *Gesch. der Pietismus*, 1886, i. 1-60, and *Die christliche Vollkommenheit*, 1902.

II. **HISTORY OF ASCETICISM.**—I. **Ancient ascetic customs.**—Almost all primitive life is marked by certain trials of courage to which the boy reaching manhood must submit. The customs sometimes assume a time of preparation, and priestly or religious direction was only a natural development (cf. Tylor, ii. 362-442; Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, 1871). So also marriage has its rites, some of which have, no doubt, a sanitary origin, some are memories of past culture, while all of them may become in course of time ascetic, in the sense that they are regarded as a necessary training for the communal life. Thus circumcision became a religious rite, and in a sense may even be regarded as ascetic (cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Isr.* 1883, p. 360). But in a strict sense, as a discipline for the *spiritual* life, it cannot be classed as ascetic. And the classes of customs gathered by Zöckler (*Askese und Mönchtum*², 1897, pp. 78-97) are almost without exception symbolic substitutes for outgrown customs, or they have social and legal significance apart from any true ascetic motive. Training for war and preparation for life's simpler duties produced customs which later on became the forms of ascetic practice; but in general it may be said that any developed asceticism belongs only to a high and elaborate economic stage. Asceticism proper belongs to an age of reflexion. Men in the process of moralization, looking out on life, revert to simple habits in the hope of restoring a morality that seems to them endangered. Thus the *forms* of asceticism have their history in customs that were in no sense ascetic. We have here to do with that variation of purpose of which Wundt rightly makes so much (*Ethik*, pp. 97-105, ed. 1886). A famine was viewed by primitive man as a direct infliction of the demons. To ward it off, self-inflicted periods of hunger, *i.e.* fasting, were the natural remedy. The punishment was thus anticipated and the demons were conciliated. There was no ascetic

motive until spiritual man sought in this form of religious custom a means for self-discipline. To the semi-nomad Amos the luxury of a commercial capital was immoral, and his only hope was a return to the nomad morality and semi-nomad customs and habits. The artificial music, ivory beds, etc. (Am 6⁴⁻⁶), were hateful to him because connected with the luxury of a commercial development whose moral strains his people were standing but badly. The motive in his denunciation was, however, not ascetic, but patriotic and primitive. A tribe sees itself threatened with extinction, and to appease the wrath of gods or demons offers one of its members in human sacrifice (Iphigenia, Curtius, etc.). Later a *surrogatum* was found in animal sacrifice, or the devotion of that which was most precious to the worshipper (the Judæan-Prophetic story of Abraham, Gn 22¹⁻¹⁹). So at last the painful parting with possessions becomes by a process of reflexion a means of spiritual discipline in vows of poverty. At the same time the ascetic motive must be sought in the latest development. Hence the student must watch with care the uncritical collections of evidence for asceticism in primitive history. It is, to say the least, doubtful if, outside of the highest civilization, asceticism in the strict sense of either discipline or negation of the bodily desires can be shown anywhere (cf., however, Zöckler, *op. cit.*).

LITERATURE.—Waitz, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, 1871; Wellhausen, *Proleg. zur Gesch. Isr.* 1885, p. 380; Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*², 1897, pp. 78-97; Wundt, *Ethik*, 1886, pp. 97-105.

2. Persian and Indian asceticism.—Geographical and racial factors in the development have exposed the populations of Persia, India, and Egypt to a long succession of oppressive tyrannies by physically superior, but often mentally and spiritually inferior, races (Mongol, Muhammadan, English). The Orient has hence become the breeding-ground for religions of despondency or even despair (cf. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*³, ii. 701-703). Although in the Avesta fasting and mortification are forbidden (Spiegel, *Avesta*, ii. lviii.; cf. especially *Vendidad*, iv. 47-49), and a great many of the alleged evidences for a primitive asceticism in Persia will not stand a critical investigation, yet Mani and the very prohibitions of asceticism are evidences that in Persia as well as in India and Egypt spiritual suffering gave rise to a pantheistic world-view, with despair and asceticism as characteristic features. The forms of this asceticism are those of world-flight, the hermit life, the mortification of the body by unnatural inhibitions of all its desires. The most imperative of these was the sexual impulse, and hence, as it was also linked with the continuance of a hated existence, the mortification of this impulse became primary. As Indian religion became fully self-conscious in Buddhism and Jainism, it deliberately opposed the ascetic to the legal, and the life of contemplation to rituals and sacrifice, and democracy to caste-aristocracy (cf. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. art. 'Buddhism'). The asceticism of Brāhmanism aimed at absorption into God. It was a training for spiritual vision. The asceticism of Brāhmanism, as awakened to full self-consciousness in the Buddhist reformation, was a negation of all life, the denial of the will to live (cf. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, art. 'Nirvāṇa'). This is the logical outcome of dualistic asceticisms, the perfection of world-flight. Even the monastic system is a compromise; and although it sprang up in India in response to the imperative social instinct, the hermit and the faqir are the real types (cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, London, 1878). The relatively mild asceticism of Buddhism seems due rather to the good sense of Gautama Buddha than to the logic of his teaching, and the result has been

that ever increasing sects have pushed the logic of asceticism to its limits.

LITERATURE.—Besides works quoted, cf. Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures*, 'National and Universal Religions,' London, 1882; Monier Williams, *Buddhism in its connection with Brahmanism and Hinduism*, London, 1889; Silbernagl, *Der Buddhismus nach seiner Entstehung, Fortbildung und Verbreitung*, Munich, 1891; H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, Eng. tr. 1882, p. 61; T. E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in relation to Christianity*, 1903, p. 253. See also special art. ('Hindu' and 'Persian') below.

3. Greek asceticism.—The æsthetic inhibitions prevented in Greece the disagreeable and morbid developments of asceticism found in India. Moreover, the evolution period was shorter. Yet the waning freedom of Greece and the high intelligence of her population began even in Plato's day to produce a despondent and ascetic as well as a pantheistic type of religious thought. It is immaterial whether this arose on the soil of Greece independently of the Orient (so Zeller, *Philosophie d. Griechen*³, iii. pp. 70, 420 ff.; but cf. Röh, *Geschichte uns. abendländischen Philosophie*, 2 vols.), or was an introduction from without. It rapidly developed from the teachings of Plato (cf. *Philebus*, 41; *Phædo*, 66-67, 82-83; *Apology*, 40), whose dialogues contain all the germs of the future Neo-Platonic development (consult treatment by Zeller, Weber, and Ueberweg-Heinze in their Histories of Philosophy). The cosmological speculations had their real religious interest in the assertion of the increasing badness of the phenomenal world as it fell below the spiritual reality. Nor is it essential whether the final belief was in a permanent separation of the two elements or an ultimate extinction of the lower element; the groundwork of an ascetic development is the hopeless surrender of the phenomenal as the sphere only of evil. The character of Greek asceticism was again controlled by the philosophic interest. The elimination of the phenomenal was by contemplation rather than by mortification. The way of salvation was escape from the body by pure thought. Even for Aristotle the higher life is open only to the man of pure speculative activity. In Neo-Platonism the Oriental mysticism was united definitely with Greek metaphysics (cf. Ueberweg, i. § 64, pp. 312-359). The Hellenistic-Judaic and the Neo-Pythagorean schools found their final expression along ascetic and mystical lines in Plotinus and Porphyry. God and the world were definitely separated. God as pure being was abstracted from all phenomenal manifestation. Salvation was in the beatific vision. Asceticism was the way of freedom from the fleshly. Between God and man angels and spirits became mediators, and revelation was in philosophy and ecstasy. Thus the waning faith of a homeless Greek culture found refuge, just where India found it, in ascetic despondency and theosophic speculation.

LITERATURE.—Besides the philosophical handbooks of Ueberweg-Heinze, Windelband, Weber, and Zeller, cf. E. W. Moller, *Geschichte der Kosmologie in der griechischen Kirche bis auf Origenes*, Halle, 1860; Leopold Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1882; Röh, *Geschichte uns. abendländischen Philosophie*², Mannheim, 1862; J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, 1908, p. 375; Rnhde, *Psyche*², Tübingen, 1898. See also separate art. ('Greek') below.

4. Asceticism and Judaism.—(a) *Canonical Judaism*.—All early religions resort to various forms of self-inflicted privation or suffering to appease the assumed wrath of gods or demons. Famine is anticipated by fasting (cf. above), and wounding the body becomes a *surrogatum* for the punishment the offended powers would otherwise inflict with more fatal results. The motive in these cases is, however, not strictly speaking ascetic. The spiritual life is not being trained, nor is the body being destroyed as a thing evil in itself. Distinguishing, as we must in the interests of clear thinking, asceticism proper from such survivals of ancient thought, Judaism is seen to be a distinctly

non-ascetic religion. The fasts and the days of humiliation ('afflict your souls'), as in Lv 23²⁶⁻³², are no more ascetic in the strict sense than a day of prayer in a Protestant community. Some of the directions about the relations of sex may seem at first sight ascetic (Ex 19¹⁵, Lv 15¹⁶⁻¹⁸ etc.), but a close examination shows that the motive was not ascetic, but had to do with the conception of a physical uncleanness (perhaps sanitary in origin) before Jahweh. This magical conception of impurity led to washings, lustrations, certain sexual inhibitions, but we find no trace of asceticism proper in the gradual evolution of the Jewish ritual. The dualistic asceticism of the Orient seems to leave no trace upon the canonical books. The fundamental conception of God, indeed, excludes it. Nor does it obtrude itself even as a foreign element, as it does in Muhammadanism. In spite of national disaster, the eschatological hopes of the Jews (cf. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*², Berl. 1906, pp. 245-346) continually counterbalanced any beginnings of despair, such as we may notice in Job, Ecclesiastes, and Lamentations. For spiritual discipline the Jew turned to the study of the Torah (Ps 119), or submitted with great ease to the burden of a legal system. In all ages, however, the mystic world-view that lends itself to asceticism is sooner or later at war with any developed legalism, and likewise a developed legalism works inevitably against the mystic-ascetic type of religious thought. The evidences cited by Zöckler for an undeveloped asceticism (*Askese und Mönchtum*², pp. 113-120) will not bear critical examination. The Nazirite vows have no real marks of strict asceticism (cf. art. 'Nazirite' in Hastings' DB). They were vows of special consecration to Jahweh for a longer or shorter period, and represent survivals of primitive Semitic religious customs; but spiritual or ethical training was wholly lacking (cf. the story of Samson), and they had no marks of any desire to destroy the body. The abstinence from wine is a survival of nomad morality protesting against the agricultural stage (Hermann Schultz, *Attest. Theologie*⁵, 1896, § 111). The priestly regulation of the Nazirite vow has so destroyed its primitive character, that we must completely re-construct it in the light of the stories of Samson and Samuel and the allusions to the Rechabites (cf. art. 'Rechabites' in Hastings' DB). Jahweh as the storm-god of the desert had those who even in the midst of an agricultural economic stage were His earnest champions and the maintainers of more primitive types of conduct. Thus the forms were given in which asceticism might begin to develop, as perhaps in John the Baptist, although even here again we deal with other spiritual phenomena (cf. next col.); and only when the influence of the Orient and Greece can be historically traced in Judaism do we find undoubted evidences of the ascetic ideal. The story of Jephthah's daughter has no real bearing on the question (cf. Hastings' DB, art. 'Jephthah,' and the Comm. of Budde and Moore, ICC). The fasts, feasts, and ceremonial regulations of Jewish religion proceeded upon a supposition which excludes Oriental asceticism, for the nation is holy to Jahweh, and the body can and must be kept ceremonially holy. This is binding on all; but priests and Nazirites, who come into closest contact with Jahweh, must be especially holy, i.e. ritually clean. The religions of the Orient centre in the negation of the body; Judaism insists upon its physical and ceremonial cleanness. This gives an entirely different character to the thought of the relation of the physical to the spiritual. So that we may put even more strongly than Zöckler his closing words: 'Only the closing period of the pre-Christian Jewish history gives us real historical parallels and anticipa-

tions of monasticism,' and add that only in this period does ascetic practice proper have any place at all.

LITERATURE.—Out of a vast literature may be mentioned especially: H. Schultz, *Attest. Theol.*⁵ 1896 (Eng. tr. by Paterson, Edin. 1892); Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*², Berlin, 1906; Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*³, Leipzig, 1898-1902; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*² 1897; H. P. Smith, *OT History*, Edin. 1903. See also separate art. ('Jewish') below.

(b) *Hellenistic Judaism*.—The distinction between fasts that have as their object the training of the spiritual life and those intended to propitiate an offended God must be constantly borne in mind. The first type is ascetic, the second has no necessary ascetic motive underlying it. The national fasts of Judaism, connected also as they generally were with times of special rejoicing, were intended to ward off the displeasure of the worshipped God. The non-ethical quality of these very fasts led to their entire rejection by the ethical prophets (Hos 6⁶, Am 5²⁰). As custom hardened into a formulated legalism, neither world-flight nor spiritual discipline can be recognized as a formative motive. The mingling, however, of Oriental and Greek elements with Judaism began early (cf. Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*³, i. 187-190, ii. 21-67). The influence was probably wide-spread, but it reached its climax in the work of Philo at Alexandria. Here we find all the familiar marks of the Neo-Platonic teaching of a later day (Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iii. [1856] 298, Eng. tr. ii. [1891] 211; Schultz, *Die jüd. Religionsphil. bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems*, 1864; Lucius, *Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältniss zum Judentum*, Strassburg, 1881). God is not dragged down by the material; the highest life is that of contemplation; and abstraction from the body is the essential thing in religion. Holiness is also a negative thing. The dualism between God and nature is spanned by the Logos. The dualism between the flesh and the spirit is resolved in the contemplative life, where the spirit frees itself from the flesh and rises to the vision of God. The Essenes (cf. art. by Conybeare in Hastings' DB) are, as we have seen, doubtfully to be considered as an ascetic development. The communism is the simple agricultural communism that marked all Israelitish life in early times. The marriage customs are hidden in evidently inaccurate estimates of them, and the asceticism reported by Philo may well be imported from his preconceptions into their practice. It is difficult to believe that a sect that in so many ways suggests a recurrence to primitive type should become a medium for carrying a Greek culture (cf., however, Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*², pp. 125-127). The reports of Philo and Josephus are always open to suspicion when they see in Jewish customs bonds between the Greek world-view and Judaism. The food and clothing of John the Baptist (Mt 3¹⁻⁷, Mk 1⁴⁻⁸) no more have asceticism as their motive than the poke bonnets and grey colour of the Quaker costume; both were inspired by the desire to revert to a primitive simplicity. John the Baptist is the reversion to the semi-nomad prophetic type. He proclaims no asceticism, but faithfulness to everyday duty (Lk 3⁷⁻¹⁴). Only when Plotinus and Porphyry and Iamblichus leave the assumptions of the OT, and by symbolic interpretation read Greek and Oriental thought into Judaism, do we get a system of contemplative asceticism well developed. This asceticism is not a Jewish product and has left little trace upon Jewish life, but it has profoundly influenced the Christian development.*

* Muhammadanism has borrowed from old Christian sources an asceticism which, however, often resembles far more the nomadic excesses of the wilderness than either spiritual disciplines or world-flight. Indeed, this latter is wholly strange to the Qur'ān, although in Persia it may be noted (cf. sep. art. 'Muslim' below).

LITERATURE.—Schürer, *op. cit.*; Bousset, *Die Rel. des Judentums*², Berlin, 1906; H. P. Smith, *The Bible and Islam*, Lond. 1897.

5. The Christian Church and Asceticism.—(a) *The Early Church and Asceticism*.—Very early in its history the transformation of Christianity from a life to a philosophy of life began (cf. Wernle, *Anfänge unserer Rel.*², Tübingen, 1904, 322–346). The marks of this change are already upon several of the NT books, notably the Ep. to the Heb., where the influence of Philo and Alexandrian Judaism is marked (cf. Siegfried, *Philo von Alex.*, Jena, 1875, p. 321 ff.; Pfeiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, Berl. 1887, p. 629 ff.; McGiffert, *Apost. Age*, Edin. 1897, pp. 477–482). Thus the Judaism with which the Christian Church found herself dealing was often not that of the OT, but a Hellenistic Judaism whose thought was based no longer on the ethical monotheism of 8th cent. prophecy, but on Greek dualism (cf. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* [ed. 1883], vol. i. § 7, pp. 93–101). This distorted the whole conception of the relation of the body to the purpose of the Kingdom; but the distortion was not realized because the faith in a catastrophic introduction of a new age seemed in itself to minimize the importance of the existing world. Upon this distortion grew up the conception of world-flight, and asceticism of the purest Oriental character was linked with the life of the Church. The exact history of the rise of monastic asceticism is obscured by the controversy over the genuine character of the alleged work of Philo, *de Vita Contemplativa*. This document has been pronounced by P. E. Lucius (*Die Therapeuten*, Strassburg, 1879) and others to be a forgery, while it has been defended by Conybeare (*Philo: about the Contemplative Life*, Oxf. 1895) and P. Wendland (*Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben*, Leipzig, 1896). It is certainly impossible to use it with confidence as a source for studying the history of monasticism. The so-called Therapeutae, described as a Jewish monastic order, probably never existed, but the invention reflects the ideals of the highest holiness of certain circles profoundly influenced by Hellenized Christianity. As might be expected, it was in the Oriental Churches that the most negative type of asceticism flourished. Egypt became the home of men and women fleeing from the world to find in ascetic solitude the holiness they longed for (cf. the interesting pen picture in Anatole France, *Thais*³, 1891). The attitude of St. Paul to marriage had nothing fundamentally ascetic in the Oriental sense. Abstinence was a matter of expediency, for the stress was great and the time was short (1 Co 7^{1–40}), and marriage brought cares which hindered the Christian in his main business of proclaiming the coming of Christ. At the same time, the vileness and licence of the period made continency, even to the denial of marriage, a very distinguishing mark of superior enthusiasm. In opposition to Marcion, however, Tertullian protests (*adv. Marcion*. i. 20), and he was not the only one to do so, against the rising tide of ascetic denial of marriage, urging that Christian liberty must be preserved (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 23, iii. 12; Euseb. *HE* iv. 29). Moreover, self-denial gave a stamp of sincerity to much religious life whose basis was really not Christian at all, as in Manichæism, and this religious life compelled the Christian communities to rival its

The prohibition of wine is not ascetic, but a return to primitive morality on national and economic grounds. Nor is the fasting of Muhammadanism in the strict sense ascetic any more than the regular hours of prayer can be so called. Pilgrimages, however (cf. art. 'Mecca' in *EB*⁹), and various wild dances, do partake of the mystic negative view of holiness which sees in abstraction from the body the possibility of the Divine vision. But, on the whole, asceticism is as foreign to the real spirit of Muhammadanism as it is to the Jewish religious development.

earnestness by denials as dramatic; so that Tertullian, who himself distinctly repudiates asceticism in principle (*Apology*, 42), is nevertheless proud of the self-denials he is able to set over against the claims of the ascetic Marcionites (*op. cit.*). Thus, in Egypt and Africa world-flight and ascetic fasting and an un-Christian and un-Pauline celibacy came more and more to mark the ecclesiastical development. It culminated in the world-flight of Paul of Thebes, whose retreat to the desert was, however, only the logic of the transposition of Christian values effected by Cyprian and Origen. Manichæism and Gnosticism had really conquered, and, opposed with true instinct by the Church, had yet forced upon the Church the dualistic Oriental conception of life (cf. Hatch, *Organization of the Early Chr. Churches*, Lond. 1881, Lect. vi. pp. 152–164, for a slight modification of this view). And logic went to the fullest extent in the hermit seclusion and the absolute isolation of the individual, as in the case of Antony and Simeon Stylites. The grouping of the priests of the worship of Serapis is sometimes regarded (but see O. Zöckler's art. below, p. 75*) as the model for what now sprang up as a modification of this hermit isolation. The monastery was at first a mere group of hermits gathered about some conspicuous example, or banded together for mutual protection. To such groups Pachomius (285–345) gave a set of rules (F. E. König, 'Die Regel des heiligen Pachomius' in *SK*, 1878; Grützmacher, *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben*, Freib. i. B. 1896), and monastic asceticism was formally foisted upon the early Catholic Church. Then, as persecution began to lessen, and martyrdom became rarer and rarer, the enthusiasm that found vent in this last evidence of zeal and sincerity began to express itself in ascetic practices. The spiritual athlete proved his constancy by self-inflicted deprivations.

LITERATURE.—See ASCETICISM (Christian).

(b) *The Oriental and Greek Communions and Asceticism*.—In general it may be said that the negative, contemplative, mystic type of asceticism had its largest development in the Oriental Greek Church. From the time of Pachomius and Antony the contemplative withdrawal from life into the desert was indeed bound up with extraordinary limitations of diet, etc., but the life of contemplation was the end sought by these fastings. The bodily exercises remain in the late conception of Greek asceticism a means to the contemplative self-abstraction. This is seen clearly in the rules of Pachomius and their subsequent development (cf. Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*², pp. 201–233). The influence of Origen and of the Neo-Platonic conceptions on the Oriental Church, as it ceased to be intellectually quick, was to emphasize dogma and details of ritual on the basis of an extreme literalism in the use of Scripture (cf. K. Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 209). The ritual development was excessive, and the monastery reflected the most primitive type, an aggregate of hermit cells. It was only when, in 988, the Russian organization and education called out the best that was in the monastic development that it exhibited any signs of life and growth. Cyril and Methodius, the two monks from Constantinople who gave Russia to the Greek Church, represented the spirit of missionary service (cf. J. M. Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, 1873). Yet asceticism in the true sense of the term was overlaid by formalism and ritual. The negative conception of holiness was even forgotten amidst the mass of superstitious externalism. The monastery as seen at Mount Athos or Mount Lebanon (cf. articles *ad hoc* in Brockhaus, *Konversationslexikon*) reflects the older type of com-

munal life; but the asceticism, save in the absolute banishment of women from all participation in the life, is not extreme. Nor has asceticism proper experienced any new development in the Russian branch of the Greek Church. Sects have arisen with extreme and fanatical views based upon a bald literalism, as the sect of the *Skoptzy*, who interpret Mt 19¹² literally, and of whom 176 were in the years 1839-71 sent to Siberia for obedience to this supposed command (cf. Loofs, *Symbolik*, i. 181 [1902]). Yet in such cases the pathological and the superstitious overshadow the ascetic motives; and, indeed, of genuine ascetic development in the various branches of the Orthodox Greek Church there is almost no trace since the 17th century.

LITERATURE.—J. M. Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, 5 vols., London, 1860-73; I. Silbernagl, *Verfassung und gegenwärtiger Bestand sämtlicher Kirchen des Orients*, Landshut, 1865; W. Gass, *Symbolik der griech. Kirche*, Berlin, 1872; Stanley, *Hist. of the East. Church*, new ed., London, 1884.

(c) *The Roman Church and Asceticism*.—The primary interest of the Christian Church as an Imperial organization was neither in dogma nor in the negative conception of holiness fundamental in ascetic monasticism (cf. A. Harnack, *Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*, 1901, p. 30 f.). Her interest was in the re-organization of the Empire in the service of an Imperial ecclesiasticism. At the same time, in the creeds and literature which the Western Church took over for her Imperial purpose, there were both dogmatic elements which she had to formulate and defend and ascetic ideals which she had to use and regulate. Under the leadership of Rome, asceticism became a handmaid of inestimable value. It was the great monk-pope Gregory VII. who forced on the whole of the clergy the ascetic celibate as an ideal (Synods of Erfurt and Passau, 1074), and in him were united the two contradictory ideals, the ruling of the world by an institution whose ideal was world-flight. The missionary activity of the monastery in Northern Europe had changed its character, and while bringing a mass of evils connected with the holding of property (cf. K. Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 353-358 [Freib. i. B. 1892]), it was at the same time the bearer of order and culture, and even of literature, to the relatively barbarous North. It had, however, of necessity drifted away from the ideals of Oriental asceticism. To the task of re-introducing those ideals the reform movements of the period from Otto I. (936-973) to Gregory VII. (1073-1085) were directed. The monastery of the Western Church was up to this period largely dependent on the great land-holders, and vows were not made for life. Only in the 7th century was the retirement from a cloister visited by penalty, and only under the vigorous reforms of Bernard of Cluny and the Abbot Hugo were the monasteries compelled to conform to the ascetic ideals of the past (cf. K. Müller, *op. cit.* i. 317 f., and 431-435). The new reformed monastic orders looked with suspicion on the agricultural and literary work which marked the less ascetic monastic institutions, and exalted more and more the life of contemplation and ascetic negation (cf. H. Reuter, *Gesch. der relig. Aufklär.* II. vi. 24-28, Berlin, 1877). From this period onwards extreme forms of ascetic life—scourging, wearing of chains and haircloth garments, no longer as survivals of primitive life, but planned to inflict pain and discomfort—as well as extreme seclusion, became the accepted means for the attainment of perfection; and the ideal of perfection was world-flight and the negation of desire. At the same time, the linking of these ideals with Churchly ambitions gave peculiar form to the ascetic conception. Everywhere the monastic reform set before itself the same ends:

'The revival of monastic institutions, the recovery of lost lands, and the acquirement of new possessions, the establishment of old ecclesiastical laws, the acquirement of a better class of novitiate, introduction of stricter discipline and cultivation of piety, as described in the older stories of monastery life, and especially in the writings of Gregory the Great (590-604), penance and self-inflicted pain of all kinds, contemplation in solitude, humility to the point of self-renunciation, constant employment of confession and the sacrament, homage of the saints and relics, pilgrimages, search for the miraculous, pessimistic judgment of the world, longings for death, and generally an abnormal raising of the emotional life, increased sensitiveness, and, above all, a high estimate of the "grace of tears"' (K. Müller, *Kirchengesch.* pp. 385-386).

Each new attempt at monastic reform of necessity but revived this negative idea of holiness, and hence it is no accident that the circumstances which originally produced the pessimistic world-flight religious type in the Orient should generally mark its revival in the Western Church. The times of revived asceticism are periods of national disorder and social disruption. Gentle and thoughtful souls found world-flight the only seeming refuge amidst the wrecks of all that makes life really attractive, and in the extreme symbolic self-renunciation of self-torture the only hope for the devoted lives of those who saw the evil. It is impossible for any religious development to be wholly without the note of service and self-sacrifice for others, yet this sinks more and more into the background the more self-consistent the pursuit of the ascetic ideal becomes. To save one's own soul by retirement from the dangers of life is the chief goal, and the selfishness of this goal is only partly hidden by the fact that service on behalf of others may become a means to this end. Even the asceticism that marked the great monastic revival under St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) made the great services rendered by the order often a source of real corruption (cf. *Life of St. Francis*, by Thomas de Celano, 1229, by Bonaventura, 1261, and recently by Hase, 1856, and Sabatier [Eng. tr.], 1894). The complete impossibility of making the negative monastic asceticism a universal demand upon all Christians, while still maintaining Imperial world ambitions, has always led in the Western Church to compromises with the 'lay' world. Hence each revival of the extreme emphasis has also led to 'lay-brotherhoods,' to modified vows for those who cannot altogether flee the world, and to an extension of ascetic symbolism. This ascetic symbolism plays, therefore, a larger and larger part in penance, fasts, prayers, vigils, etc., in which the element of pain and bodily deprivation is reduced to a minimum, and the ascetic element is represented by symbols, 'half-fasts,' fish and eggs instead of meat, beads told, and masses said by proxy, etc. Against these compromises protests were constantly being raised by those who seriously held the monastic ascetic type of Christian ideal (Bernard of Cluny); but more and more as the Imperial organizing force of a centralized Vatican made its way, these compromises received the sanction of the Church. From the time of the Reformation onwards the Roman Church has been on the defensive, and the militant character of her great organizing force, inherited from Rome, has driven the negative and ascetic conception of holiness into a secondary place. In the Jesuit development, asceticism has a distinctly different place from that occupied in the older orders. It is a training for service under the ecclesiastical Imperialism of Rome (cf. Döllinger and Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche* [1889], particularly the 'Einleitung'). The goal the Jesuit order set before itself was world-conquest rather than world-flight, and thus again is clearly seen the old struggle between two distinct ideals of holiness, while both are maintained within the great historic communion of the Roman Church. The

triumphs of the Jesuit policies since the great Jansenist controversy have therefore steadily relegated asceticism to a secondary and disciplinary place, and its recent history shows no new development within the Roman communion, while it still maintains its place as one of historic legitimacy.

LITERATURE.—Out of a vast literature may be specially mentioned: Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*², Frankf. a. M. 1897; Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 8 vols., Lond. 1888; Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*², Lond. 1906; Montalembert, *Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, 7 vols., Edin. 1861-1879; Taylor, *Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, Lond. 1901; Haruack, *Das Mönchtum* (Eng. tr. *Monasticism*, Lond. 1881); and the Standard Histories of the Church in the Middle Ages, e.g. those of Neander, K. Müller, etc.; also Gothein, *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, Halle, 1895; Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste*, Leipz. 1878; Reuter, *Gesch. der religiösen Aufklärung*, Berlin, 1877.

(d) *Protestantism and Asceticism.*—In a true Protestantism there is no room for Oriental asceticism based upon world-flight (cf. Luther, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*, 1520). The only place asceticism can properly have is as a training for the life of service, and it is only a matter of loving expediency whether the Protestant shall prepare himself for service by fasting, deprivation and negation of legitimate desires, or by the simple and faithful discharge of daily duty. In the Matthew tradition (Mt 6¹⁸) Jesus certainly anticipated fasting; but in actual fact His disciples did not emphasize it during His lifetime (Mt 9¹⁴), as is seen also in the Mark tradition (Mk 2¹⁸, Lk 5³³); and St. Paul's doctrine of Christian freedom (Gal 5¹ and argument of whole letter), permitting, indeed, any act that may prove for spiritual edification, excludes any emphasis upon such practice as necessary. Hence the Reformers admit fasts. 'Fasten und leiblich sich bereiten ist eine feine gute Zucht,' says Luther in his Smaller Catechism, and he urged it as a pious and useful exercise; as did also Calvin, with, however, the old primitive motive appearing, for the Church was to fast 'to appease the wrath of God' (cf. Zöckler, *op. cit.* p. 565). All the ascetic practices have dropped away, or been actually condemned by both Lutheran and Reformed Churches (Augsburg Confess., Art. 27; 1 Helvet. Confess., Art. 28). In the form of world-flight Protestantism has overcome asceticism. Only in the forms of a legalism can we trace remains of the Catholic conception of a negative holiness (cf. A. Ritschl, *Gesch. d. Pietismus*, i. 36-80, Bonn, 1880), and even the legalism that forbids dancing, theatre-going, wine-drinking, and card-playing does so now on the basis of the expediency of the Christian life, or on the ground of inherent immorality in the practices, thus removing the discussion of them from the sphere of asceticism. It is therefore a source of confusion to confound these two separate motives. With Protestantism, therefore, Oriental asceticism may be said to have been theoretically overcome.

LITERATURE.—The best histories are those of Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*², Frankf. a. M. 1897, a new edition of his *Kritische Geschichte der Askese*, 1863; and J. Mayer, *Die christliche Askese, ihr Wesen und ihre historische Entfaltung*, Freiburg i. B. 1894; see also article 'Askese' in *PRE*². Interesting material may be found in Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* (PL, vol. xxxiv.), and in Rufinus, *Historia Monachorum* (PL, vol. xxi.). There is curious material in Stadler and Heim, *Vollständiges Heiligen-Lexicon*, 1858. For the history of Monasticism consult the catalogue given in *Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux*, 4 vols., Paris, 1860; and Montalembert, *Möines d'Occident*, 7 vols., 1860-1877 (in part translated). For accounts of Buddhism see Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 1850, *Manual of Buddhism*², 1880, and *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, 1886. For the attitude of the Reformation see Luther, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, 1520, and *de Libertate Christiana*; Melancthon, *Loc. Communes*, particularly 'de crucis afflictionibus,' 1521; Calvin, *Institutes*, iii. 6-10, iv. 12 ff.; also Luthardt, *Die Ethik Luthers in ihren Grundzügen*², 1875; P. Lobstein, *Die Ethik Calvins*, 1877. For the best expositions in the Ethical handbooks of the Protestant attitude, consult H. Schultz, *Grundriss der evangelischen Ethik*, 1891, p. 40 ff.; and Newman Smith, *Christian Ethics*, 1891. A very full bibliography is also given by Zöckler, *op. cit.* pp. 21-29. See also art. AUSTERITIES.

T. C. HALL.

ASCETICISM (Buddhist).—Judged by its literature, India has revealed to us human intelligence at its widest, intensest range of reaction to sensuous and emotional stimuli. European writers have described the mild, passive, dreamy, quiescent Hindu. But they have ignored the fact that these qualities were the natural antithesis to, and rebound from, the preponderant disposition. That appears to have been of a nervous, eager, high-strung, emotional character, passionate and pleasure-seeking, keenly susceptible, exuberant in expression, impulsive and strenuous in effort to satisfy desire. The notes of the *vinā* (a kind of lute), the singing of the *Karavika* bird from the Himālayas, are described as rendering languid and maddened those that heard it, no magic agency being imputed (*Samyutta*, iv. 197; *Sumangala*, ap. *Digha*, xiv. 35). Where the heart's desire is cut off, the subject promptly lies down to die (*Majjhima*, ii. 57; Com. on *Therīgāthā*, p. 221). The ordinary man is described as indulging in extravagant expression and depression at a transition from happiness to grief (*SBE* xi. 102, 127; *Majjh.* i. 238, 239). Where sense and emotion sway so forcibly, we should expect to find a corresponding excess in attempts to cope with that exuberance. Nowhere, indeed, has asceticism been so highly elaborated as in India. Nowhere have sense impressions and sense gratification been suppressed more nearly to the utmost limits consistent with life. Nowhere has the art of pain been more studied. Every act and posture of common life was engrossed by the self-persecuting zeal of the ascetic. And the lay world that maintained him in the intervals of his weird warfare expected of him a rigid persistence in his efforts, in exchange for its alms, as much as the votaries expected it from each other, if the reputation for sincerity and sanctity of each was not to be lost (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. p. 66 ff., i. pp. 90, 93).

The English reader of translations from Pāli and Sanskrit will find the word 'ascetic' used to denote any person who from religious motives has 'renounced the world' (cf. e.g. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 213, n. 2; *The Jātaka*, vi., Cambridge, 1907, Index, s.v. 'Ascetic'). This is due to the English poverty for such terms as *religieux* and its synonyms. It does not, however, follow that, beyond renouncing home, property, and marriage, the so-called 'ascetic' is to be understood as engaged in systematic penance or self-mortification.

Ascetic practices were spoken of collectively as *tapas* (Pāli *tapo*), i.e. 'burning,' 'glow.' Parallel with, but usually independent of, sacrificial rites, they constituted, no less than the latter, a systematic line of action pursued to gain a distinctive end. That end, when Buddhism arose, was chiefly the guarantee of re-birth under relatively happier conditions than the present life could afford.

For instance, in the parable of the log drifting down the Ganges, the Buddha, discussing the chances of its arriving in due course at the open sea, and enumerating the various obstacles, said that it might be seized by human or by non-human agencies. By this he illustrated the fate of a religious brother, drawn back again into the world, or captured by longings after some abode of the gods and conforming to some discipline (*brahmachariya*) with the notion: 'By this rule, or ritual, or askēsis (*tapena*), or discipline I shall become a god, or god-like being' (*Samy.* iv. 179 ff., but cf. also *Majjh.* ii. p. 36, l. 2).

Of the more usual object of *tapas*, according to the Vedas—the attainment of magical powers—but slight traces remain. The Buddha, for instance, tells, as an ancient legend, of the failure of certain *Rṣis* to blast by curses a seer who exclaimed that their *tapas* was proved futile and their discipline fruitless (*Majjhima*, ii. 155).

The way in which *tapas* was held to guarantee the end sought after was not, as in sacrificial rites, by the propitiation of a god or gods, but by satisfying, as a system of acts and abstinences, the law of *karma* conceived as impersonal, eternal, moral energy. Painful experience and the absence of pleasant experience were to work as a set-off, in the balance of fate, against the weight of pleasant

self-indulgences in the past, and of possible pleasant experience in the near future, respectively.

'There are, brethren,' the Buddha's discourse runs, 'certain recluses (Aśvakas, Ajivikas, Niganthas, etc.) who thus preach and believe: Whatsoever an individual experiences, whether it be happy, or painful, or neutral feeling, all has been caused by previous actions. And thus, from the cancelling of old actions by *tapas*, and by abstaining from doing new actions, there is no influx into future life; by this non-influx *karma* is destroyed, and so ill is destroyed, and so feeling is destroyed, and so all pain will become worn away. This, brethren, is what the Niganthas (Jains) say. . . . Is it true, I asked them, that you believe and declare this? . . . They replied . . . Our leader, Nāpajutta, is all-wise . . . out of the depths of his knowledge he tells us: Ya have done evil in the past. This ye do wear away by this hard and painful course of action. And the discipline that here and now, by thought, word, and deed, is wrought, is a minus quantity of bad *karma* in future life . . . thus all *karma* will eventually be worn away, and all pain. To this we assent' (*Majjhima*, ii. 214 ff.; cf. i. 238).

The recorded interviews between the Buddhists and the Brahmins yield no such efforts to master and forestall destiny. But one young Brahmin names *tapas* as one of five conditions declared by the priestly class to be requisite for the achievement of 'merit' (*Majjhima*, ii. 199). And current verses commending *tapas* are here and there gathered into the Buddhist canonical anthologies (*Samyutta*, i. 38, 43, 172 = *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 77; *Anguttara*, iii. 346).

Now Buddhism was frankly eudæmonistic in its ethics. It hastened to reduce the evil of the world to its ultimate term—*dukkha*, 'pain', 'sorrow', 'misery', 'ill'. It spoke of *nirvāṇa* as absolute happiness. Its cardinal tenets were to be an organon for the extirpation of ill. Affectionate and moral conduct, 'noble' (Aryan) views, are commended as securing *phāsuvihāra*, that is, easeful, serene living (*Anguttara*, iii. 132). Consequently it could not well sanction any deliberate infliction of pain, or *dis-ease*, as such, on one's self or on others. One of those categories into which the canonical books delight to divide humanity classes men as self-tormentors, or self-burners (*attan-tapo*), tormentors of others, tormentors of both self and others, tormentors neither of self nor of others (*Majjhima*, i. 341, 411, ii. 159; *Anguttara*, ii. 205; *Puggala*, 55). Under the first head come the votaries of *tapas*; under the second, butchers, fowlers, hunters, fishermen, thieves, executioners, gaolers, and all doers of acts of cruelty; under the third, great functionaries who, when holding sacrificial ceremonies, perform rites involving some personal discomfort, and also have herds of animals slaughtered, and keep their slaves in fear of punishment. Under the fourth head come those who have left the world and the home for the career of a recluse. These are, or should be, filled with charity and compassion for all living beings; they own no property in animals or in personal service. They harm no one, molest no one, and have thrown off the cares and ties that torment the world. And, as it were in antithesis to the word 'burning,' they are said to have 'become cool' (*sitibhūta*).

The latter term, *sitibhūta*, would seem to imply renunciation of *tapas*, as well as of those professions and practices through which a man would become, as it were, a cause of burning or torment to others. He has, of course, still to cultivate, even if he be a *bhikkhu* frequenting forest seclusion (*Majjhima*, i. 469), the virtue of *hiri-ottappa*, conscientiousness and fear of blame. These will often entail, ere he graduates in saintliness, states of mind called 'burning-producing' (*tapaniyyā dhammā*), to wit, 'I have left undone those things that I ought to have done, and I have done those things that I ought not to have done' (*Anguttara*, i. 49; *Dhamma-saṅgani*, §§ 38, 1300, 1323). Nor was he to be 'cool' in pressing forward to complete emancipation and self-conquest; but, on the contrary, abundance of 'ardour' (*ātāpi*) was expected of him. Only the *arahat* is described as wholly *sitibhūta*, as one resting on a summit, or by clear waters beyond the jungle (see art. ARHAT).

Buddhism, again, claimed at its very inception, in the Buddha's first sermon, to be a Middle Path, opposed equally to the extremes of sensuous and worldly indulgence on the one hand, and of self-mortification on the other. Both are denounced as ignoble (un-Aryan) and unprofitable, the latter, also, as *dukkha* (*SBE* xi. 146, *Majjh.* iii. 230). Contrasted in another passage, in a jungle simile, as the thick-set path and the fired-out path, they are opposed to the middle course of the brother who (in the practice of the 'Four Inceptions of

Mindfulness') 'ardently' surveys body, impressions, thoughts, and feelings, that he may subdue all grief arising from coveting the things of the world (*Anguttara*, i. 295).

The Buddha's twofold objection to the practice of asceticism is really one: *dukkha* is evil and must be removed. Excess is *dukkha*. *Tapas* is a form of excess, and multiplies *dukkha*. It does not even lead through suffering to any gain; it is unprofitable. This futility of *tapas*, and not any shrinking from pain, was the moral of his own strenuous essay in austerities. This he is said, in the canonical books, to have related to a *rāja*'s son, who maintained that happiness was to be won only through suffering (*Majjhima*, ii. 93); also to a young Brahmin, who questioned him on the originality of the system he put forward (*Majjhima*, ii. 212); and again to a young Jain, who doubted whether the Buddha's disciples studied bodily as well as mental control (*Majjhima*, i. 237). When almost worn out by his austerities, he came, he said, to the conclusion: 'Not by this bitter course of painful hardship shall I arrive at that separate and supreme vision of all-sufficing, noble (Aryan) knowledge, passing human ken. Might there not be another path to Enlightenment?' Whereupon he once more took reasonable care of the body, (whereby his fellow-ascetics, who had expected great results, lost faith in him), and chose, for the meditations that brought the light, a spot where the natural environment was of a kind to soothe and brace the spirit.

A little poem in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (i. 108) represents him, at this stage, as happy in the release from all self-mortification and from faith therein. Before his complete enlightenment he sat by the river Nerañjarā, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan tree, musing: 'Oh! but I am freed from all that difficult toil! Oh! but well freed am I from that useless course of difficult toil! Wholly steadfast and mindful now draw I near to *bodhi* (enlightenment)!' Māra, the evil one, tried to shake his serenity: '*Tapas* and sacrifice hast thou abandoned, whereby the Brahmin youths are purified? The impure may deem himself pure, when he hath missed the path of purity.' And Gautama replies: 'I who have discerned the uselessness of [my] *tapas* and of all *tapas* whatsoever—bearing along with it, as it does, all that is useless, even as punting-pole and steering-pole may bring along a water-snake—I, practising the path to *bodhi*—moral conduct, meditation and insight—have won the Purity supreme.'

The foregoing allusions define the attitude of Buddhism to asceticism when the term applies to a course of painful penance, privation, injury, toil, or tedium inflicted upon the person. But in the sense of the Greek *askēsis*, or way of life, in which some channels of activity are barred and others developed by special training, Buddhism was thoroughly ascetic. 'The Greek has his asceticism, but it is no mortification of the senses. It is just the power to refuse a lesser good for the sake of the greater. Such asceticism, an alert and constant effort after betterness, is a tonic, a strengthening of fibre, an added increment to life.' Dr. Jane Harrison's words (*Albany Review*, Jan. 1908) apply no less to the Buddhist. Of the lay-disciple a less high standard of training was expected. His whole duty may be said to be laid down in the *Sigālōvāda Suttanta* of the *Digha*. But any deeply serious movement must always concentrate its energies and its care at first on a nucleus of whole-hearted devotees, who alone will tide it over initial difficulties, and propagate it. These can no more live like the rest of the world than an army when mobilized can afford to do. With the end it had in view, the Buddhist *askēsis* is in some respects in affinity with the Christian, in some, again, with the Greek. For the earnest student (*sekha*) the body was something to be analytically studied and kept in cleanliness and good health. Clothing for it, regular and frequent baths, massage, shelter, regular food, rest, and medicines were prescribed. But it remained, religiously considered, a foul thing (*pātikāyo*); and the senses

were so many opportunities and channels of malefic impressions and impulses. Susceptibility to beauty of person required to be corrected by the contemplation or imagination of bodily transience, decay, and putrescence. The bodily culture of the Order amounted very much to what would now be called 'the simple life.' Needs (which would else provoke pain) were to be satisfied without arousing new and unnecessary wants. The recurring explanation of 'moderation in diet' is typical:—

'When any one takes food with reflexion and judgment, not for purposes of sport, excess, personal charm and attraction, but so as to suffice for the sustenance and preservation of the body, for allaying hunger and for aiding the practice of the religious life; and thinking, "While I shall subdue that which I have been feeling, and shall cause no new feeling to arise, and maintenance shall be mine, blamelessness also and comfort"—this content, temperance, judgment in diet, is what is called "moderation in diet" (*Dhamma-saṅgārī*, 1349).

Compared with the ascetic excesses, as well as with the imaginative and speculative obsessions, of the age, the Buddhist standpoint was markedly hygienic. As the Buddha is recorded to have said (*Majjhima*, i. 509), to consider that health means merely that nothing ails the body is to lack all noble (Aryan) vision. On the other hand, a healthy and efficient condition of body was not only indispensable to a healthy and efficient condition of mind, but was an integral part of sound training (*Majjhima*, i. 239, 473 ff., 425; *Dhamma-saṅgārī*, §§ 40-51). There does not appear, in the canonical books, any glorification of the intellectual or spiritual at the expense of the corporeal. The constituents of individuality were ranked on a level, as being each and all impermanent, channels of suffering, and void of Ātman. But then this body-and-mind individuality, 'poor thing' though it might be, was potentially the vehicle of *nirvāṇa*, of *arahaṭ*-ship. And hence the training of it was of the first importance—training by no means of a negative, paralyzing character. The pupil of a great Brahman ascetic school is asked by the Buddha whether, and how, *Parāsariya* teaches the cultivation of the bodily faculties. The answer is, 'Yes; with the eye he sees no object, with the ear he hears no sound.' 'On that system,' is the rejoinder, 'the blind and the deaf have their senses best cultivated.' And 'the supreme faculty-culture (*indriya-bhāvanā*) of the noble (Aryan) discipline' is then described (*Majjhima*, iii. 298 ff.). The training, moreover, is often represented as gradual, just the 'bit placed in the colt's mouth' to begin with (*Majjhima*, iii. 2): 'Come thou, brother, keep the *sīla* and the precepts and acquire the range of moral conduct, . . . see that the gates of sense are well guarded, that no influx of impressions bear thee off thy feet, be moderate in diet, keep vigils, be mindful and heedful, cultivate self-collectedness in solitude, purging the heart of the five hindrances and practising the meditation raptures'—these are given as seven successive grades. But in proportion to the distance from graduation, that is, from 'emancipation,' was the training to be strict and unintermittent. Certain brethren, who asserted that a number of daily meals kept them in better health than the one midday meal of the Master, were gently reminded that they were too far from 'attaining' to emancipation to let themselves go (*Majjhima*, i. 473 ff.). To one who had attained, such questions sank into insignificance. 'You say,' the Buddha asks an appreciative friar, 'that my disciples hold me in reverence. Why do they?' 'For five qualities: your frugal diet, contentment with whatever raiment, food, and lodging you have, and your love of solitude.' 'That can hardly be,' is the answer, 'for while some of my disciples in one or other of these things practise austerities, I some days make a fuller meal, or wear lay robes, or accept invitations to dine, or dwell indoors, or among my fellows.' And he goes on to reveal

the deeper basis of their trust in him (*Majjh.* ii. 5 ff.).

It was not to be expected that the Buddha's followers, even when they were advanced in training, would all appreciate the *quasi*-Pauline 'liberty' of his own high standpoint. In Dr. Neumann's words, 'ascetic simplicity is a characteristic of humanity and ineradicable' (*Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen* [Berlin, 1899], p. viii). The austerities alluded to in the Order became elaborated into a scheme of thirteen extra vows or burdens (*dhutaṅga*), more discussed, perhaps, than carried out (*SBE* xxxvi. 267-269). But they were at variance with the spirit of early Buddhism, which, in reducing life to a healthful simplicity for those who had set their faces toward the Highest, sought, in its own metaphor, to give them the liberty of the bird, which in flying 'bears with it but the power to fly' (*Digha*, i. 71).

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C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

ASCETICISM (Celtic).—1. It has been suggested (Fisher and Baring-Gould, *Lives of the British Saints*) that the monastic system of Ireland and Wales was a continuation of pre-Christian ascetic practices; but this statement is unsupported by evidence. Herodian (A.D. 197) mentions the hardness and scantiness of clothing of the Britanni; but this had no ascetic significance. On the other hand, Strabo (vi. 196) states that the Celts were pleasure-loving (*ἡδονικοί*), and Diodorus (xxvi. 3) says of the Galatæ that they were fond of wine. At the same time, it has to be admitted that our information as to the Celts in antiquity is very meagre, and especially insufficient for the relatively barren Celtic lands where Christian cœnobitism and asceticism afterwards flourished.

2. The Christian asceticism of Celtic countries in the 5th and 6th cents. undoubtedly owes its origin to transmission from Egypt through Massilia (Marseilles), a port which under the Empire had a vigorous Egyptian trade. Massilia and Lérins (Lérina) in the South and Tours further North became active centres for the dissemination of the cœnobic ideal in Gaul and beyond. In the Life of the Scottish St. Ninian it is said that the saint had met St. Martin of Tours, and held him in such respect that, when he heard of his death, he dedicated to him the church called *Candida Casa* at Whithorn, which he was then building. With the monastic system of Southern Gaul, John Cassian was closely associated, and it has been held by Professor H. Williams (in *Trans. Cymmwr. Soc.* 1893-4) that the monastic system of Britain and Ireland was more akin to that of Southern than that of Northern Gaul. In the latter district monasticism made marked progress after the death of St. Martin of Tours (A.D. 400), and it may even have spread from this source to Britain, as is suggested by the story of St. Ninian; but the main impetus to the growth of the monastic movement in these islands undoubtedly came through the anti-Pelagian mission of Lupus and Germanus (429). At Lérins a church and cloister were built by Honoratus, and it was here that Lupus, bishop of Troyes, became a monk after giving up his see and his family life. There was probably some rivalry between the Northern and the Southern monastic systems of Gaul, for Sulpicius Severus (*Life of St. Martin*, cxvii.) says that the institutions of St. Martin were

in some respects on a higher plane than the Egyptian institutions of John Cassian, the founder of the monastery of Marseilles. That there were links between Lérins and Britain is suggested by the fact (attested by Sidonius Apollinaris) that Riocatus, whose name is undoubtedly Celtic, visited that monastery twice in A.D. 450. The probability is that both of the Gaulish movements made contributions to British and Irish monasticism.

3. Celtic asceticism, however, in spite of its relation to the general movement in Christendom, had certain well-marked features of its own, which were mainly conditioned by the tribal organization in which it took root (Willis-Bund, *Celtic Church in Wales*; Fisher and Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*). The heads of the cenobitic communities of Celtic countries were members of ruling tribal families, and the headship of these communities and participation in their property and privileges continued (in some cases even to the 12th cent.) to be limited to those who, by means of their valid pedigrees, could show kinship with the founder. The formation of cenobitic communities in Wales and Ireland was probably directed not only by religious but also by economic considerations, owing to the pressure of population and the insufficiency of cultivable soil. The monasteries were largely centres of co-operative industrial activity in agriculture and other arts, while the pursuit of learning and other amenities of civilized life were thus rendered possible. Lay interests probably had a larger place in the life of these communities than the later Lives of Celtic saints, written under Benedictine influences, might lead us to suppose, and it was natural enough accordingly that these communities, as such, should take no account of clerical orders (Willis-Bund, *op. cit.*).

Prof. Hugh Williams (*loc. cit.*) gives the following as the four stages of development of monasticism in Wales, and the development in Ireland was in the main parallel: (1) *A life of seclusion*, self-denial, prayer, and meditation (and it may be added, industry, to a large extent manual), in a common life of obedience to a superior, the abbot. There were similar institutions for women, and a Celtic monastery was sometimes double. The life of this stage appears to have been modelled on the teaching of Cassian in his *de Institutis Cœnobiorum et Conlationes Patrum*. (2) A stage when the monastery was pre-eminently a *school*, as exemplified in the case of the Welsh saint Illtud. When children were sent to a monastery of this kind, they were regarded as the foster-children of the Church, and a fee had to be paid not only for their fosterage but at their removal. (3) That of the *Eremites*, or *Anchorites*. In Egypt this stage came first, but in Celtic countries it grew out of cenobitism. In 595, when Columbanus wrote to Gregory the Great, this movement was at its height in Ireland, and was also characteristic of Gaul and Britain. It was doubtless largely due to economic pressure upon the monasteries. The settlements of those who left the monasteries were often named after the saint who was head of the monastic community that they left. In all Celtic countries the hermits of this stage showed a marked predilection for islands, at first in lakes and streams, then in the sea. (4) The stage of *monastic pilgrims or missionaries*. These combined the work of itinerant preaching with that of tilling the soil in the districts where for the time being they settled. Among the fruits of these missions were the monasteries established by Welsh and Irish saints in Brittany, and notably the following important communities: (a) that of Iona, founded by St. Columba in 563; (b) those of Anegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaine in the Vosges, founded by St. Columbanus in the end of the 6th cent.; (c) that of Bobbio

in Italy, founded by the same saint in the beginning of the 7th cent.; (d) that of St. Gall, founded by a disciple of St. Columbanus. Other Irish monasteries on the Continent were Lagny, Péronne, Fosse-la-Ville (near Liège), Lure, Beaulieu (in Argonne), Würzburg, and Säckingen. These and other Celtic monasteries were important centres of learning in the Dark Ages, and the Irish monks especially were distinguished for their skill in copying and illuminating MSS (cf. *ERE* i. 843, 860).

4. The regulation of life in the monastic communities gave rise to the formation of Penitentials and Rules. Some of the former, as, for instance, that of Gildas (see Hugh Williams, *Gildas*), show that drunkenness and worse vices had to be kept in check, and the Lives of the saints themselves sometimes give similar indications. The rule of Columbanus was in some respects severer even than that of St. Benedict (Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*). So far as the celibacy of the clergy, however, was concerned, it is probable, as Warren points out, that a married priesthood was not unknown in certain places and at certain times. St. Patrick appears to have been the son of a deacon and grandson of a priest, and one Irish canon speaks of a cleric and his wife ('uxor ejus'). Gildas in his *Increpatio in sacerdotes* seems to imply a married priesthood. The efforts to promote clerical celibacy in Wales in the 10th cent. met with considerable opposition, which continued into the two following centuries. Gildas (*Epist.* xxii. 21) speaks with approval of the celibate life, and quotes Elijah, Elisha, and Jeremiah as examples of it ('Virgo Elias, Elisæus virgo, virgines multi filii prophetarum'); in *de Excid.* 80 he says, 'Hieremias quoque virgo prophetaque'; but this was probably in opposition to the current ecclesiastical practice of Wales in his time.

The Lives of the Celtic saints sometimes describe their ascetic practices in terms not unlike those of Indian *yogis* or *faqirs*, and it has been suggested that the principle underlying this self-torture was analogous to the Celtic legal remedy of 'fasting against a person,' a practice whereby the person 'fasting against' another, to whom he had preferred a request, could bring his blood upon the other person's head, if the fasting led to the faster's death through persistence in refusing the request (Fisher and Baring-Gould, *British Saints*, Introduction).

Some of the austerities recorded of Irish saints are as follows:—St. Finnchua is said to have spent seven years suspended by iron shackles under his armpits, 'so that he might get a place in heaven, in lieu of one which he had given away.' Both he and St. Ita are said to have caused their bodies to be eaten into by chafers or stag-beetles. St. Findian is said to have worn a girdle of iron that cut to the bone. Of St. Ciaran we are told that he mixed his bread with sand, and of him and St. Columba that they slept on the ground with a stone for a bolster. Of St. Mochua it is said that he lived as an *involatus* in a prison of stone, and that he had only a little aperture left for letting food down to him. Of the Welsh saint Brynach we are told that he lessened his need for the luxury of clothing by dipping his body daily in the coldest water, and St. Cadoc is also said to have been wasted with fastings. Further, of the Irish saint Kevin it is said that he remained for seven years in a standing posture without sleep, with his arm held up in the same position, and that a blackbird laid and hatched her eggs in his palm. Some of these tales are obviously exaggerations, but doubtless the Celtic monks underwent not a few austerities both necessary and voluntary. An ascetic attitude towards women appears to be reflected in some ritual observances of the Celtic Church, as for instance in the rule (embodied in the *Penitential* of Cumminius) that women were to be veiled at the reception of the Eucharist. In the *Leabhar Breac*, too (f. 245, col. i.), there is mentioned an Irish church where women were prohibited from going near the altar or taking the chalice into their hands. The Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, in its praise of the celibate lives of St. Patrick and St. Brigit, shows that the ascetic ideal had an honoured place in Celtic monasticism; and St. Patrick says of himself in his *Confessio* that he prayed as many as a hundred prayers a day, and the same number at night. Neither snow, frost, nor rain could prevent him from going before daylight to his wonted place of prayer. In spite of its tribal and other features, it cannot be doubted that Celtic asceticism was essentially part of the same movement as that which showed itself in

Christendom generally, and was governed in the main by similar ideals.

5. One of the best known names connected with Celtic asceticism is that of the Culdees (Ir. *Céli Dé*, 'the companions of God'). This term was sometimes Latinized into *Colidei* ('God-worshippers'). It is probable, according to the view taken by Reeves and Zimmer, that this term, as used from the 9th to the 12th cent., did not denote the regular successors of the Irish monasticism of the 6th, 7th, or 8th cents., but the followers of a new movement, which dated from the 8th century. Zimmer suggests that it was probably due to the influence of monks who had returned to Ireland after living at Metz under the rule of Chrodegang (A.D. 749). It was not in Ireland, however, but in North Britain that the Culdee movement attained its most important development.

Many of the terms of Celtic monastic nomenclature were derived from Latin, but a few were of native origin. The following are the chief terms of Irish: *abb* ('the abbot'); *seanabb* (i.e. *secundus abbas*, 'the prior'); *fer léigind* ('the lector'); *mac léigind* ('the lector's pupil'); *coiméitúda* ('the warden'); *manach* ('a monk'); *mac clerech* ('a young monk'); *ban-airchinnech* ('the prioress'); *caillech* ('a nun'); *mac-caillech* ('a young nun'); *berrad manaig* ('the tonsure, in Celtic countries over the front of the head from ear to ear); *cathair, congbail* or *mainistir* ('a monastery'); *anachara* ('an anchorite'); *anmchara* ('a soul-friend, confessor'); *cille* ('cillecium'); *clausul* ('clausula'); *cripta* (Lat. *crypta*); *disert* (Lat. *desertum*, 'an anchorite's cell'). In Welsh the following are some of the terms employed: *abad* ('an abbot'); *mynach* ('a monk'); *abades* ('an abbess'); *mynaches, lletan* ('a nun'); *mynachlog* ('monachi locus'); *mynachdy* ('a monastery'); *eufeint* ('a convent'); *didryfur* (lit. 'a homeless man, a hermit'); *aner* ('an anchorite'); *meudry* (lit. 'a servant of God, a hermit'); *cuffygl* ('cubiculum, a hermit's cell'). The Breton and Cornish terms are practically identical with those of Welsh. The place name Dyserth in Flintshire is probably identical in meaning with the Irish *disert*. The derivative of *cella* was in Irish *cille*, in Welsh *cell*. *Cil* in Welsh place names means 'a retreat, and *llan*, 'an enclosure,' a term applied to the precincts of a monastic settlement. Generally it is followed by the name of a saint, but sometimes by some other word, such as a river name: e.g. *Llanellwy, Llandaf, Llangefni, Llanerth, Llanllyfni*. The Welsh term *Plwyf*, Breton *Plou* (from Latin *plebes*), which now means 'a parish,' meant in mediæval Welsh 'a congregation.'

6. The general fusion of Celtic Christianity with that of Rome led to the assimilation of the monastic institutions also, and the foundation of new monasteries and nunneries by the leading orders of the Continent. In Wales some of the mediæval abbeys, such as Neath, Margam, Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, Aberconwy, and Valle Crucis, aided and patronized Welsh literature; but from the 14th cent. onwards Welsh poetry, largely under the influence of the love-poet Dafydd ab Gwilym, shows an anti-ascetic tendency. Unlike Ireland and Brittany, Wales has become thoroughly Protestant in spirit, and not only Protestant but Nonconformist. So far as the Nonconformity of Wales may be said to have an ascetic bias, it is in the direction of temperance and total abstinence from the consumption of alcohol; and this tendency has left its trace in legislation in the 'Welsh Sunday Closing Act.' The Calvinistic Methodist Church, especially, views the sale and use of alcohol by its officers and members with marked disfavour; and its regulations are strongly hostile to all forms of card-playing, dancing, and the drama, but the spirit of Welsh Nonconformity in general is practically identical in these matters with that of this denomination.

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E. ANWYL.

ASCETICISM (Christian).—

I. Introduction: Asceticism in its relation to Biblical revelation.

II. Attitude of the Early Christian Church to Asceticism.

III. Development of Asceticism in the Middle Ages.

1. The Transition Period from the Early Church to the Middle Ages proper (c. 860-800).

2. The Period from the beginning of the 9th till towards the end of the 11th century (from Charlemagne to Hildebrand).

3. The Period of the Crusades and of the last two centuries of the Middle Ages (c. 1100-1517).

IV. Asceticism in Modern Times.

1. The Græco-Russian Church.

2. The Roman Catholic Church.

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Literature.

I. INTRODUCTION: ASCETICISM IN ITS RELATION TO BIBLICAL REVELATION.—

The word 'asceticism' (Gr. *ἀσκησις*, from *ἀσκήν* = 'to exercise or practise'), when used in the sphere of religion and ethics, denotes self-preparation for a virtuous course of conduct, the zealous practice of acts of devotion and morality. This practice of virtue in the narrower and stricter sense, or what may be called moral gymnastic, may consist in exercises of an inward kind (prayer offered in the heart, examination of conscience, and the like), or in acts of self-discipline passing over into the outward life (self-mortification by fasting, voluntary poverty, sexual continence, etc.). Both forms of asceticism, that pertaining to the spiritual sphere and that of a physical and external character, were already known to classical antiquity, especially in the traditional teaching of its philosophers from Pythagoras and Socrates downwards (cf. *ἀσκησις* in Plato, for instance *Rep.* vii. 536; and in Aristotle, for instance *Eth. Nicom.* ix. 9; as well as the mention of *πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ δασκήσεις δούτητος* in Isocrates, p. 226 C, etc.). A specially high value was set upon the ascetic habit of life in the schools of the Stoics (cf. especially Epictetus, *Περὶ δασκήσεως*, Diss. II. xiii. 6), the Cynics (cf. *κυρικὴ δασκήσις* in Jos. *Ant.* vi. xiii. 6), and the later Platonists beginning with Plutarch (cf. the latter's *Moral.* p. 668 E). Owing to the great and widespread influence of these schools during the Roman Imperial period, 'philosophy' and 'asceticism' (*τὸ δασκητικόν*, Epictetus, Diss. II. xii. 6) were employed almost as synonymous terms. Abundant evidence of the essential identity of the connotation of the terms 'ascetic' and 'philosopher' is furnished especially by the writings of Philo Judæus, as well as by those of numerous Christian Fathers from the time of Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria onwards. When Philo hails the Jewish religion, and the Fathers hail Christianity, as the true philosophy, both have in view a certain ascetic element in their respective religions. The moral strictness and earnest demand for virtue found in both, when looked at from the view-point of asceticism, formed the connecting link which rendered possible such a combination of the Jewish or Christian ideal of life with the 'wisdom' of the Græco-Roman philosophers.

As a matter of fact, there does appear to be inherent in both the OT and the NT stages of revelation an element of asceticism. This consists in the urgent demand for an earnest combating of sin and a complete resignation to the holy will of God. In its ritual legislation the Old Testament also prescribes fasting—sometimes strictly obligatory and universal (especially on the Great Day of Atonement, Lv 16²³ 23²⁷), at other times optional and limited by temporary or personal conditions (e.g. Jl 1¹⁴ 2¹², Jer 36⁹, 1 S 7⁵, 2 S 12^{18a}, Ezr 8²³);

in particular, it imposes upon the priestly order certain temporary forms of abstinence; and is acquainted with a form of vow in virtue of which certain persons abstain all their lives from the use of wine (Nu 6²², Jg 13¹, 1 S 1^{10a}, Jer 35). And the New Testament religion not only takes cognizance of these and similar ordinances of the Old Covenant, but even itself leaves scope for a corresponding ascetic course of conduct. While not prescribing fasting as a matter of obligation, the NT clearly assumes that this practice will occasionally be followed by members of the Christian community (Mt 6¹⁶ 9¹⁵, Ac 13² 14²³, 2 Co 11²⁷ etc.); it exhibits a similar attitude in the matter of sexual continence (Mt 19¹², 1 Co 7²³), or of the renunciation of earthly possessions (Mt 19²¹, Ac 2⁴⁴ 4³² 5⁴), or of temporary submission to a vow (Ac 21^{24a}), and the like. In short, acts of ascetic discipline and training in virtue are contemplated in the NT as allowable, nay, even as necessary, according to time and circumstances, in the sphere of Christianity. In the interests of the kingdom of Christ, the Apostle Paul submits himself to fastings, watchings, cold, nakedness, etc. (2 Co 6⁵ 11^{26a}); and 'bruises' and 'subdues' his body after the manner of athletes (1 Co 9²⁷). And he looks for similar action on the part of other seriously-minded followers of Christ (Gal 5²⁴, Ro 13¹⁴, Col 3⁵).

In view of the above and many other Biblical expressions, it cannot surely be maintained that ascetic practices are *excluded* by the religion of revelation. But, on the other hand, they cannot be regarded as a *primarily* important or *fundamentally* significant element of that religion. That they play only a secondary or accessory rôle in the sphere of revealed truth is plain even at the OT stage of religion, both from the relatively small number and the moderate strictness of the commands regarding fasting and other forms of abstinence, and from the sharp polemic of the Law and the Prophets against the excessive bodily and external mortification which prevailed widely in the religions of Israel's heathen neighbours (cf. the prohibitions of self-mutilation in Lv 19 and Dt 23, and Elijah's attitude towards the frantic wounding of themselves by the priests of Baal, 1 K 18^{28a}). There is also proof of this in the absence of all trace of a partiality or a preference for the unmarried life in the social and ethical practice of life in Israel. To marry and to have children remain national fundamental virtues in Israel through all periods of its history; even as late as the Roman era, the Pharisees, who were pre-eminently the party of strict law, and who showed in many other points a disposition towards rigorous legalism in the matter of ascetic practice, maintained a decidedly unfavourable attitude towards celibacy. The opposite attitude of the Essenes cannot count for much, in view of the notoriously small number of this party and the extent to which they were probably influenced by foreign customs, particularly, it may be assumed, by the example of the Pythagoreans; and even in this sect there was a minority which (according to Jos. BJ II. viii. 13) did not renounce marriage.

That Christ and the primitive Christians deviated in any of the points here mentioned from the traditions that prevailed among the Covenant People of the OT is a theory that could be maintained only by a NT exegesis controlled by ascetic prejudices. Neither as regards the individual nor as regards society do the ethical teachings and prescriptions of the NT go further than *permit*. It is intended not as a rigorous statute, but as a command of love, when the Lord calls His disciples (Mt 10³⁸ 16²⁴, Jn 13^{34a}) to follow after Him in the way of the cross and of humility; and the Apostles adopted precisely the same free and mild attitude

towards the problems of controlling the appetites and mortifying the flesh. In regard to these problems, St. Paul appears in some measure to have made stricter demands (cf. the above-cited passages in 1 and 2 Cor. as well as the Epistle to the Galatians, etc.) than even the stern legalist St. James; but an injustice is done him when the attempt is made to read into his Epistles anything like a commendation of monastic withdrawal from the world or of fanatical maintenance of virginity. He was and continues to be the preacher of true evangelical freedom, even in all those instances where he deals with questions of individual or of social asceticism (cf. 1 Co 6¹² 9^{4a} 10²³, Gal 5¹, Ro 14^{22a}); in the demands he makes for cross-bearing he nowhere goes beyond the standard set up by Jesus Himself. He who would 'walk by the Spirit' (cf. Gal 5^{18a}) must, indeed, turn away from all works of the flesh; but there is no hint in this of an *ἀφειδία σώματος* or false angel-like spirituality (Col 2^{18a}), no 'hating of one's own flesh' in the sense of Neo-Platonic or Oriental dualistic teachings (Eph 5^{28a}), no one-sided bodily exercise and mortification; for far higher than such *σωματική γυμνασία* stands in his estimation the *γυμνάσειν εαυτόν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν* (1 Ti 4^{7a}). Even in the solitary passage in which he uses the word *ἀσκεῖν* of religious and moral conduct (in his speech before Felix at Caesarea, Ac 24¹⁸ ἀσκή ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, κ.τ.λ.), the practice of virtue he has in view is that which he champions everywhere else, a practice marked by the characteristic freedom of the Gospel, and as far removed from Pharisaic narrow-mindedness and legal bondage as it is from unnatural self-torture after the fashion of Indian *fajirs* or heathen Syrian priests of Asia Minor.

II. *THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO ASCETICISM.*—In spite of the condition of things described above, which forbids us to regard asceticism as an element of the religious and moral life belonging exclusively to the essence of Christianity, or prescribed in its original body of doctrine as necessary to salvation, the ascetic principle early made way for itself in the development of the Christian Church. Nay, in the course of this development, asceticism soared to heights and produced phenomena in the life of the Church which for greatness and far-reaching influence on the whole cultured life of humanity fall in no way behind what the history of non-Christian religions has to show of an analogous kind. Christian asceticism is one of the phenomena produced by the union of pre-Christian factors of civilization with the spirit of Christianity, phenomena which—like Christian art, poetry, jurisprudence, etc.—have everywhere made contributions of inestimable value and of abiding significance for the furtherance and elevation of the mental life of mankind. And the source from which the Christian spirit derived this element of culture—so far as it did not lie in the religious and cultured life of the OT—can have been none other than that from which formative influences and impulses mainly flowed in the departments of art, poetry, politics, and law. The beginnings of asceticism in the Christian Church, especially as organized in the form of communities—monasticism—constitute another chapter in the history of that process which is usually spoken of as the 'Hellenizing of Christianity.' No other place can be assigned to them than within the sphere of this process, which embraces the history of the Church from the 2nd to the 5th century. For the stage upon which the phenomena of a fully developed and socially organized Christian asceticism first make their appearance is found in those lands which constituted the world of Græco-Roman civilization; and the religious and philosophical traditions of this same cultured

world form the point to which the asceticism of the Church, with its ideals and efforts, primarily and mainly attaches itself.

Per se another supposition might appear possible, namely, that a fruitful influence upon the ascetic and monastic tendencies of the ancient Eastern Church proceeded from a religious civilization which in the matter of asceticism was so richly developed as that of *India* (with ascetic systems like Jainism and Buddhism, which date back to a time considerably earlier than the Christian era). Or an attempt might be made to trace the earliest ascetic and monastic movements in Christianity to kindred phenomena in the religions of *Babylonia* (and *Syrophœnicia*) or of *Egypt*. But when the various pre-Christian religious civilizations are pitted against one another and their share in the result before us examined, none can dispute the palm with *Greece*. *India* is far too distant, and was always much too widely separated from the mental life of the peoples of Western Asia, to be seriously taken into account. Towards the religious usages of *Babylonia* and *Syria*, which might certainly be considered with a view to the solution of the problem, the people of God in OT times—and primitive Christianity in like manner—consistently assumed an attitude only of disapproval and sharp opposition (cf. the remark already made on 1 K 18²⁵). Again, the analogies with early Christian asceticism, which have been sought in the religious system of the Egyptians, prove, upon closer critical examination, to be merely apparent. This remark applies especially to those alleged ascetics or priestly monks of the temple of Serapis whom H. Weingarten (art. 'Mönchtum' in *PRE²*, 1882; and previously in *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums im nachkonstantin. Zeitalter*, Gotha, 1877) sought to represent as the real models and teachers of the earliest Christian monks—a false theory which has been completely shattered by more recent investigation (see E. Preuschen's monograph, *Mönchtum und Serapiskult*, Darmstadt, 1899 [2nd ed. 1903], in which the existence of Serapis priests of a monkish type is disproved, and therewith the utter impossibility of Weingarten's hypothesis demonstrated). Thus we must abide by the view that the beginnings of early Christian asceticism and monasticism go back to essentially Greek influences, or, to put it more exactly, to the influence of the late Greek and Judæo-Hellenic schools of philosophy, to which we have already referred in this connexion. The religions of the Ancient East can at most be credited with only an indirect share (the result of the syncretism of the Alexandrian epoch) in the formative process we are considering. [Cf., on the one side, Edwin Hatch, *Influence of Gr. Ideas and Usages upon the Chr. Church* (Germ. tr., Preuschen, *Griechentum und Christentum*, Freib. i. B. 1892, p. 101 ff.), and A. Harnack, *Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*, Giessen, 1895, esp. p. 18 ff.; and, on the other side, the literature (No. II.) cited at the end of the present article, dealing with the history of asceticism prior to and outside Christianity.]

Long before the rise of monastic organizations, by which asceticism was elevated to the rank of the ideal of life for the social ethics of Christianity, many forms of ascetic practice and endeavour had made their appearance within the sphere of individual ethics. Some of these had their model in Jewish customs. This was the case in particular with the habit of fasting twice a week and observing fixed daily hours of prayer. For both of these practices, the so-called 'station' fasts on Wednesday and Friday, and the habit of praying at least three times a day (the germ from which the later conventual institution of 'hours' developed), there is evidence in writings as early as

the 2nd cent. (*Didache*, viii. i. 3; *Hermas*, *Sim.* v. 1, 3; *Aristides*, *Apol.* 15; *Tertull.* *de Sejun.* i. 10, *de Orat.* i. 19; *Clem. Alex.*, etc.). And at the root of both there is not only the Pharisaic Jewish model, but also an underlying allusion, dating probably even from Apostolic times, to the principal features of the Passion of our Lord. The phenomena of pre-monastic early Christian asceticism may be assumed to have found their models and motives mainly in pagan Hellenism. So with the custom (to be attributed to the influence of Montanism) of partial fasting for several weeks before Easter (the *Xerophagy*, or Fast of the Passion); the disposition (attributable to the same source) to increase the severity of Church discipline and to place additional obstacles in the way of contracting a second marriage (cf. especially *Tertull.* *de Pœnit.*, *de Pudic.*, *ad Uxor.*, *de Monogam.*, etc.); as well as the high or exaggerated value (to be explained partly from Montanism and partly from Gnostic influences) set upon voluntary virginity (*ἡραπεία*, *ἐγκράτεια*) as an ideal.

We see the *coryphæi* of all the leading schools of theology, Greeks and Latins, Alexandrians and non-Alexandrians (cf., in regard to these last, not only the already oft-cited Tertullian, but also especially Cyprian, *de Hab. Virg.* and *de Orat. Domin.*; Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* vi. 23; and Methodius, *Conviv.* vii. 3, viii. 1), participating in the endeavour to commend such ascetic practices. The ascetic element was most prominent, to be sure, in the theology of that school which, as the founder of an ecclesiastically orthodox gnosis in opposition to that of the heretical Gnostics, ventured to draw most boldly and most deeply from the treasury of the traditions of Greek philosophy—the *Alexandrian*, which far surpassed all other theological schools of the early Church in the matter of establishing and developing Christian asceticism. Even Clement, although he defends the right to hold earthly possessions (*Quis div. salu.*), and upholds the sanctity of the married condition (*Pæd.* ii. 10; *Strom.* ii. 23, iii. 12), gives expression to very rigorous views regarding the Christian attitude to fine clothes and various worldly pleasures and enjoyments (*Pæd.* ii. 1 ff., iii. 2 f., 7 f.), and even pleads at times in favour of an almost Stoically conceived ideal of apathy (*Strom.* iv. 22, cf. iii. 7 and vii. 12). Origen, even after he had learned to repent of the hyper-ascetic excesses of his youth, in particular his self-emasculation (*Euseb.* *HE* vi. 8), still remained an enthusiastic panegyrist of all forms of world-renunciation and mortifying of the flesh. He went still further in the matter of fasting and other forms of abstinence (see *Hom. in Lv* 10, 11, *Exhort. ad Martyr.* etc.), and especially in recommending virginity (on this last point, besides passages like *c. Cels.* i. 26, vii. 48, viii. 55, see especially his *Com.* on *Ro* 12¹, where he commends three kinds of 'living, holy, God-pleasing sacrifice,' namely a martyr death, voluntary celibacy, and abstinence from sexual intercourse on the part of married persons; similarly *Hom.* 23 in *Num.*).

It is not surprising that, when an advance took place from the practice of asceticism by individuals to its practice by bodies of people, the earliest signs of the movement took place where this Christian-Gnostic theology made its influence first and most powerfully felt. Egypt, the home of the Alexandrian theology, became also the mother-land of early Christian monasticism, or, to designate it more exactly and correctly, *cœnobitism* (for *μοναχός* or *μονάχων* is properly 'a hermit,' 'one living alone'; it is the living together in *κοινῶν* that stamps the ascetics as monks in the modern sense of the word). It was in those circles in Egypt in which theology and church stood in the closest connexion with Origen that the impulse towards more intimate

association, with a view to a common ascetic life, appears to have set in earliest. The adherents of the Origenist Hierakas, whom Epiphanius in No. 67 of his Catalogue of Heretics describes as a sect under the name Ἱερακῖται, may in many respects be regarded as one of the earliest societies of ascetics. But in their case, as previously in that of the Encratite party of Tatian, the element of theoretical traditional teaching or mystico-Gnostic speculation probably predominated to such an extent that the name 'school' or 'sect' fits them better than such designations as 'Mönchverein' or 'Klosterbrüderschaft' (cf. art. 'Hierakas' in *PRE³* viii. 38 f. by A. Harnack, who does not take sufficient account of the peculiarity which distinguishes them from the cenobite societies of the following period). Like these Hierakites, who may have founded entirely to the 3rd cent., the 'solitaries' (μοναχοί, also μονότροποι, μονήρεις), described by Eusebius in two passages of his Commentary on the Psalms (on Pss 67 and 83), were also still without the closer social organization. The latter may yet have been wanting also to those 'bond brothers' or 'sons of the bond' (Syr. *bnai kyāmā*), of whom mention is made by a Syrian contemporary of Eusebius, namely, Aphraates of Edessa, in Nos. 6 and 18 of his *Homilies*. To the category of ascetics who received their impulse from the Alexandrian theology we must assign also those representatives of the ascetic habit of life who belong to the first decades of the 4th cent., and whose dwelling-places should probably be sought in Palestine and Syria rather than in Egypt. What here again forbids our identifying them with monks proper or cenobites is the lack of more definite information as to principles of organization or rules that may have belonged to them.

This characteristic of being bound together by a fixed principle or rule of life is not wanting, however, in those societies of Middle Egypt which from the early part of the 4th cent. began to make their appearance in the Eastern Church, and as the founders of which St. Antony and St. Pachomius have gained superlative fame. The former (born 251, died 356) lived for some decades (from about 270) as a hermit in the mountain wastes of northern Middle Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, opposite Arsinoë and Heracleopolis. Then, shortly after the year 300, a number of bodies of associates in his ascetic mode of life, who had taken up their abode in the same region, were trained by him to work and to practise devotional exercises in common, and thus—though for a time without written rules—a kind of monastic life was established. The sites of two of the *κοινὴβια*, or colonies of monks, established and directed by St. Antony down to his death (i.e. for a full half century) can be fixed with tolerable certainty: Pispir, or the 'outer mount of Antonius,' lying close to the right bank of the Nile, and the 'inner mount of Antonius,' lying farther to the east, near the Red Sea. While this older patriarch of Egyptian monasticism still refrained from committing his rules to writing, his younger contemporary Pachomius (born c. 290, died 345 or 346) provided the hosts of ascetics who gathered round him in southern Middle Egypt, between Akhmīm [Panopolis] and Denderah, with a rule of life which regulated in detail their devotional exercises and their work. This body of rules was, no doubt, reduced to writing by himself or by some of his immediate associates. By the authors of the earliest accounts of his life and work it was regarded as a product of Divine inspiration, having, it was alleged, been given to him, written on a tablet of brass, by an angel while he sojourned in a cave. Its prescriptions regulate in

the most minute detail not only the daily round of work and prayer, but also everything relating to the food, the clothes, the sleep, and the dwellings of the monks. They comprise much that is original and characteristic of the national Egyptian monastic usage, but also some things which the later tradition did not accept at all (so, especially, the division of the inmates of each establishment into 24 *τάγματα* classified according to age), or accepted only with considerable modifications (for instance, the prescription of 3 × 12 daily acts of prayer).

Partly independent of the models offered by the creations of these two great monastic fathers, and partly with more or less close attachment to them, there arose even during their lifetime various large and afterwards influential settlements of associated bands of ascetics. Thus we find (1) in Lower Egypt, the monasteries, or, to be more correct, the hermit-villages of the Nitrian mountain, founded somewhere about the year 320 by Amun or Ammonius, as well as those of the desert of Skete to the north of this hill country, founded about 330 by Macarius 'the Great' or 'the Egyptian' (died 390); (2) the South Palestinian hermitages and monasteries of St. Hilarion, a pupil of St. Anthony (c. 320–360); (3) the N. Syrian and Mesopotamian monasteries called into being about 325 in Nisibis and its environs by the Egyptian Awgin (a monkish saint who received his training at Tabennisi, the principal monastery of Pachomius); (4) the monastic societies established about 330 still farther north, in Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, by Eustathius of Sebaste. Only a little later are the phenomena which mark the laying of the foundation of a joint practice of asceticism in the West, especially the essentially monastic activity of St. Martin (c. 370–400) in Western Gaul. Regarding the majority of these fathers of the monastic system we have more or less detailed and in the main reliable historical information. In his *Historia Lausiaca* (written in the beginning of the 5th cent.), Palladius has collected sketches of the lives of some 70 notable ascetics and founders of monasteries. These sketches, while not devoid of certain features of embellishment, are never pure fictions, but rather embody reports by eye- and ear-witnesses of the persons and events in question. The same remark applies to the historical value of the still older *Historia Monachorum* by Rufinus, and to Athanasius's *Vita Antonii*. Here, again, this last-named biography of the most famous of all the Oriental fathers of monasticism has handed down to us information which, while it is enriched with not a few legendary additions, represents in the main the authentic testimony of contemporaries. [Against the attacks of modern hyper-critics (esp. the above-named Weingarten) on these and other sources for the history of asceticism and monasticism during the era of Constantine and the following period, see, in general, the discussions by C. Butler and the author of the present article in the works cited below (esp. Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, pp. 188 ff., 200 ff., 212 ff.).]

III. DEVELOPMENT OF ASCETICISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—The Church of the Middle Ages added scarcely anything that was essentially new to the forms of ascetic effort and action that had become usual in the Early Church period; but in the matter of establishing fixed rules and systematizing these forms it went far beyond what had been done by the Ancient Church. The development in question was accomplished in the course of the following four periods:

1. *The transition period from the Early Church to the Middle Ages proper* (c. 360–800).—During this period the labours of a number of monastic legislators in East and West gave permanent form

and binding force to the traditions of the era of Constantine with reference to the living together of ascetics in monastic establishments. Basil the Great of Cæsarea (died 379) drew up a set of rules, which proved of fundamental importance and attained to permanent influence, for the monastic system of the Eastern Roman Empire and partly also of Lower Italy and Sicily. Suppression of the hermit or anchorite form of monastic life (which was still frequently preferred by the earliest Oriental ascetics) by cœnobite arrangements, transfer of monastic settlements from remote deserts to the neighbourhood of cities, rejection of hyper-ascetic excesses (*e.g.* in such matters as fasting and the number of daily times of prayer, which were restricted to seven or eight), and generally an increasing mildness of disposition, directed to the discouraging of excessive ascetic enthusiasm—such are, upon the whole, the characteristic features of this organization which derived its origin and its name from Basil. In the Latin edition of the Rules of Basil, which Rufinus prepared to serve as a constitution for the lower Italian and Sicilian branches of this monastic family, provision is made even for the establishment of double religious houses, *i.e.* the erection close to one another of monasteries under an abbot and of nunneries under a 'mother.' The foundation of these double houses indicates a shrinking from the vehemence of the older sexual asceticism. A similar custom prevailed frequently in the West, even independently of the influence of Basil and Rufinus. Such houses were founded, for instance, in Spain by Fructuosus (died 670); in the British Isles we have examples in the Irish Scottish religious houses founded by St. Patrick and St. Columba; and still later in the orders of Robert of Arbrissel (died 1117), Gilbert of Sempringham (died 1189), and Birgitta of Sweden (died 1373); cf. Zöckler, *l.c.* pp. 290, 379 ff., 419 ff., 541 f. More or less important developments continued to be undergone by Basil's monastic legislation in the Byzantine East till towards the middle of the 11th century. These concerned especially such matters as the placing of the religious houses under the bishop's superintendence, increased severity of discipline within convents, an organic union whereby anchorites (κελλώται, 'inmates of cells') lived with cœnobites within the same cloistral district, and the distinguishing of the monks' right of penitential discipline from the pastoral charge exercised by the secular clergy. Most effective for this development were the ecclesiastical prescriptions of Justinian's civil code; the canons of certain synods of the 7th and 8th cents., especially the Trullan Council, ii. 692; the influence of the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople (died 703), of the abbot Theodorus Studita (died 826), of Athanasius of Trapezus (*c.* 960 ff.) who founded the oldest principal religious house of the monastic republic on Mt. Athos, and of the Constantinopolitan monastic prefect, Simeon the younger (*c.* 1040; cf. Zöckler, *l.c.* p. 290 ff.; and, in regard to the last named, K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum*, Leipzig, 1898).

Turning to the monastic system and asceticism of the West, we discover the most influential legislator and most famous founder of orders in the person of Benedict the Great of Nursia (died 543), the founder of Monte Casino. A number of his predecessors in the West (in particular Joh. Cassianus [died 435] and Cæsarius of Arles [died 542], the former the composer of rules for monks, the latter the author of a system for nuns) had sought to adapt the ascetic traditions of the East as represented by Egypt and Syria to the needs of the inmates of Western religious houses. In

relation to these attempts it is to be noted that the course followed by the *Regula Benedicti*, which became the fundamental code of the greatest of all the orders of monks, is partly to summarize and partly to condense and simplify previous results. The *Regula* in its present form is divided into 73 chapters, and though perhaps not free from some later additions, may be regarded, certainly up to ch. 66, as genuine. It exhibits no small degree of legislative wisdom in its enactments, which are marked on the one hand by strictness and on the other by humanity and mildness. It wears the aspect of strictness in its insistence upon the maintenance of the *votum stabilitatis*, and in its measures for ensuring a strict *clausura* in opposition to all undutifulness and disposition on the part of the monks to wander about without restraint; so also in its demand that there shall be no holding of private property by any inmate of a religious house; in short, in its enforcing of the three fundamental monastic duties: *castitas, obedientia, paupertas*. But, on the other hand, it evinces relative mildness in its dietary prescriptions (the eating of flesh food being prohibited, but a moderate quantity of wine allowed), its regulation of dress, its enjoining of silence (*taciturnitas*) at fixed times, and its directions as to devotions, eight daily 'hours' being indeed prescribed, but excessive length being avoided by reducing the number of Psalms to be sung in each 'hour' to three. The *Regula* of the patriarch of Monte Casino knows as yet nothing of the more violent methods of penance and discipline, such as self-flagellation, wearing the hair shirt, temporary *inclusio*, or confinement of monks in their cells, etc. It was reserved for later epochs in the Middle Ages to give birth increasingly to such aggravations of ascetic practice until an unnatural degree was reached.

2. *The period from the beginning of the 9th till towards the end of the 11th century* (from Charlemagne to Hildebrand).—This period is characterized, on the one hand, by the beginnings of that rigorous reaction, within the bosom of the Benedictine order of monks, against the frequent laxity or disuse of monastic discipline, such a reaction as is exhibited in the reforms of the younger Benedict (of Aniane, died 821) and the 'congregation' of Cluny (especially from the time of its second abbot, Odo [died 942]); and, on the other hand, by the constant effort of the Church, through the instrumentality of penance, to carry over ascetic principles and habits of life to the lay world. Amongst the literature serving this purpose (the *Libri Penitenciales*), one of the earliest and most prominent places should be assigned to the works of Columbanus of Luxeuil (died 615), who composed not only a book of penance for laymen, but a rule for religious houses (*regula cœnobialis*) which contained a severe penal code. In this class of literature we find prescribed not only a number of the ordinary forms of penance for sins that have been confessed (money fines, almsgiving, pilgrimages to distant shrines, intensified fastings, etc.), but with special frequency also the penalty of flagellation. In connexion with the rigorous movement emanating from Cluny, there were many monasteries in which, from the commencement of the 11th cent., this flagellation was practised in a specially severe form, and with all sorts of refinements added to intensify it. Thus arose the practice of self-flagellation, first introduced in certain religious houses of Central Italy (Clusium, Pomposia, perhaps also at Camaldoli near Arezzo, the original seat of the Camaldulensian 'congregation' founded by Romuald [died 1027]), and reduced to a fine art in Peter Damiani's establishment, Fonte Avellana, by Dominicus, surnamed

Loricatus (c. 1050), who added to the self-inflicted flagellation yet other methods of mortifying the flesh, notably the performance of numerous genuflexions (*metanœæ*) during the singing of Psalms in Divine worship, and so became a much admired hero of the self-torturing hyper-ascetic discipline (see the literature cited below).

A more harmless form of the joint practice of asceticism, likewise developed first in the religious houses that were influenced by the reforming movement of Cluny, and showing itself almost simultaneously in Central Italy and in South Germany, consisted in the institution of lay-brothers or 'outside brothers' (*fratres exteriores* or *conversi* or even *barbati*). These were a kind of half-monks, who, because they were subject to only part of Benedict's *Regula* and were not bound to wear the monastic habit, did much to diffuse the spirit of monastic piety even in lay circles, and at the same time to extend the political influence of the monastery. Starting from Gualbert's 'congregation' of Vallombrosa near Florence (c. 1038), and from Hirschau, the monastery of abbot William the Holy (died 1091), this institution of lay-brothers gradually established itself in other 'congregations' as well. It became the model for those brotherhoods of Penitents or Tertiaries which were afterwards (from the end of the 13th cent.) affiliated with the mendicant orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, and from whose activity results of great significance followed.

3. *The period of the Crusades and of the last two centuries of the Middle Ages* (c. 1100-1517).—The characteristics of this period are an ever-growing effort on the part of the religious orders to extend their manner of cultivating piety to the Church as a whole, and an increasing tendency to multiply ascetic practices and forms. Even during the 12th cent. the monasticizing of the secular clergy by the imposition of celibacy—a movement which had the fashion set to it in Rome from the time of Gregory VII.—had been accomplished in almost all the countries of the West, both the great rival 'congregations' of the Benedictine order, that of Cluny and that of the Cistercians, lending their services to the Curia for this end. Still greater results were reached by the above-mentioned mendicant orders, which from the 13th cent. began to take up the work of both these bodies and in general of the older religious orders. Partly through the stringency with which they enforced the rule of poverty, partly through the institution of Tertiaries above referred to, and, in addition to all this, owing to their preaching in the language of the people, and to the self-sacrificing character of their pastoral activity, especially in times of severe national calamities, they gained for themselves a degree of popularity which threw all their predecessors into the shade. Many phenomena of asceticism as well as hyper-asceticism still prevailed side by side with the influences emanating from these regularly constituted chief representatives of monastic piety. Such, for instance, was the practice, much resorted to by both sexes, of *inclusio*, or allowing themselves to be shut up in narrow cells, caves, or huts, sometimes in remote districts, sometimes in the vicinity of much frequented churches or religious houses. So with pilgrimages to places of devotion and miracle-working shrines, the latter increasing in number towards the end of the Middle Ages. To the same category belong the processions of flagellants, which after the year 1349 repeatedly poured over great tracts of country, and whose practices about the beginning of the 15th cent. were brought to the highest degree of perfection under the guidance of the Spanish Dominican saint Vincentius Ferrer (1401-1417). Another pheno-

menon was the appearance in particular localities of groups of people who were seized with a sudden religious (or semi-religious) mania, e.g. the 'dancers' of the Lower Rhine and Holland (1374) and Strassburg (1418). Finally must be mentioned the numerous instances, amounting almost to a general epidemic of asceticism, in which, from the time of the 'stigmatization' miracle connected with St. Francis (1224), visible copies of the wounds of Christ were, it was alleged, miraculously produced on persons of both sexes, sometimes within the pale of the two rival orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, sometimes outside it.

The above and kindred phenomena betray a religious degeneration, hand in hand with which went numerous symptoms of moral decay, particularly in the discipline of most of the religious orders, old and new alike. An attempt was made to counteract this degeneration by the mystical and inward tendency which marked some ascetic groups, esp. the 'Brothers of the Common Life' (*q.v.*), who spread from the Netherlands over North and Central Germany; but this effort to lead men to spiritual religious exercises and to a spiritual following of Christ failed to make any deep and lasting impression upon any large number of people.

IV. *ASCETICISM IN MODERN TIMES*.—The Reformation of the sixteenth century led to a return, on the part of all that portion of Western Christendom which adhered to it, to that limited measure of ascetic practice and aim which was the norm for primitive Christianity, with its freedom from the Law. In other words, an attitude of disapproval was adopted not only towards the hyper-asceticism of the Middle Ages, but also towards those intensifications of the ascetic-monastic principle which had made their appearance in the Early Church. On the other hand, in both the Churches of Catholic tradition, the Roman and the Greek, this critical attitude, derived from the Protestant doctrine of justification, towards the development of previous centuries was condemned as unbridled antinomianism. Hence the attempt was made to conserve not only the ascetic but partly also the hyper-ascetic acquisitions of the Church's past. Accordingly a wide severance between the principal Churches in the matter of their ascetic practice now set in.

1. *The Græco-Russian Church*.—This Church, which had been more or less untouched by the exaggerations of asceticism that had shown themselves during the mediæval development of the Western Church, continues to abide in all essentials by the forms and conditions with which the period of primitive Christianity had ended. Hence for it an enduring validity belongs to Canon 13 of the Second Trullan Council, which frees the priests and the lower clergy in general from the obligation to celibacy; as well as to the 12th Canon of the same Council, which strictly binds the higher grades of the hierarchy, from bishops upwards, to an unmarried life. Accordingly, the higher church offices can, as a rule, be held only by men chosen from the ranks of the monastic clergy—a principle far-reaching in its bearing upon the whole ecclesiastical and civil life, and serving to erect a great wall of partition against Western Catholicism.

2. *The Roman Catholic Church*.—Along with the celibacy of the clergy, this Church retains almost all the other intensifications of the ascetic principle which the mediæval development added to the Early Church traditions. Nay, in the interests of its contra-reforming aims it has in not a few points gone beyond the Middle Ages. New forms of ascetic discipline and self-torture could indeed

no longer be invented, but all that was possible was done in order to give more effective form and more refined manner to the creations of earlier days. This will be seen if, for instance, Loyola's *Exercitia spiritualia* be compared with their embryonic types in the monastic mysticism of the Brothers of the Common Life, or if the Jesuitical school comedies and the performance of oratorios in the order of Neri be compared with the crudities of the clerical plays of the closing pre-Reformation period. Of the unnatural extravagances of the later mediaeval asceticism, some, such as flagellantism, *inclusio*, the wearing of the penitential shirt, etc., were, if not wholly suppressed, at least somewhat mitigated and more discreetly ordered. The tendency to multiply the forms of joint practice of asceticism was still maintained. And especially in the frequent formation of new religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods outside the orders proper the more recent Catholicism exhibits an inventive genius and a productive power which have been able to defy all counter-forces, including even the revolutionary storm at the transition from the 18th to the 19th cent., and which at the beginning of the present century continue to exhibit the same capacity as during the first decades of the counter-Reformation. The Society of Jesus forms the chief centre. Within its bosom is constantly produced that inexhaustible supply of ascetic vital energy which is diffused in all directions with triumphant effect. The uniqueness of this most important and original of all Catholic orders consists neither in unexampled severity of self-mortification nor in unusual zeal in performing deeds of loving self-sacrifice, nor yet in a superlative degree of scientific industry. In none of these points, least of all in the last-named, is the order of Loyola content to hold a secondary place; but it seeks its chief glory in an intensifying of the monastic virtue of obedience, whereby it far surpasses all that has been achieved in this matter by earlier ascetic societies. The secret of its greatness lies in the blindly obedient devotion on the part both of its individual members and of its superiors to the command of the Pope, and all with a view to extirpating Protestant heresy. To the vow of obedience it has imparted, especially by that sacrifice of intellect to which it trains its pupils, a military precision which secures for it an incomparable superiority over all the other militant orders of the Papal Church. And, owing to this essentially military character and organization, while it has not indeed reached its goal in the extirpation of Protestantism, it has gained other successes of the utmost importance. Instead of the Churches of Protestantism, it has completely conquered its own Church, and secured for itself within it a position of influence which, to all appearance, is destined to continue for decades if not for centuries.

3. *The Protestant Churches.*—These reject, as their reforming instruments and Confessions declare with practical unanimity (cf. *Conf. Aug.* art. 26, 27; *XXXIX Artt.*, xxxii., xxxiv.; *Conf. Helvet.* ii. 18, 24, 29; *Scotch Conf.* i. 14, 15, and ii.), the Roman demand for the celibacy of the clergy, just as they oppose the claiming of special merit for ascetic displays of virtue. A certain number of wonted ascetic observances, especially in the matter of keeping weekly and yearly fasts, passed over into the practice of Lutherans, Anglicans, and some of the other Reformed Churches in the times immediately following the Reformation, but have survived in only a very limited measure down to the present day. A return to the principles and practices of strict asceticism in the matter both of fasting and of abstinence from worldly pleasures and enjoyments, evincing in general a tendency to withdrawal from the world, was aimed at and in some

measure achieved by the Continental Pietism of the 17th and 18th cents., as well as in England and her colonies by Methodism and some of the Methodist and Baptist sects (especially the Tunkers [from c. 1724] and the Shakers [from 1774], both of which favoured the principles of celibacy and complete community of property). But even these attempts led for the most part to no permanent results. The Pietistic bodies in Germany, in so far as they survived the Spener-Francke and Zinzendorf times, introduced important modifications in their opposition to a more secular form of Christianity. A more enduring character belongs to the ascetic efforts of many branches of British and American Methodism. Particularly in the sphere of the crusade against alcohol not a little success has already been achieved, whose salutary influence extends to the life of other denominations as well, and from which still more may be looked for in the future. A similar remark applies to the work of the Salvation Army. Its 'Self-Denial Efforts,' i.e. abstinence from a number of the pleasures of life with a view to being able to give all the more for the benefit of others, may be classed with those forms of ascetic action whose survival and wider diffusion within the pale of Protestant Christianity are in general to be wished and prayed for. Similar in character and aim are the 'Weeks of Self-Denial' that have recently become common among the Presbyterians of North America, of which an account is given by R. E. Thompson, the historian of that denomination, in *American Church History* series, vi. 189.

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ASCETICISM (Greek).—We find asceticism even in ancient Greek life, and there, in fact, its unseen beginnings go back to the 7th cent. B.C. Sundry anticipations of the practice are traceable in various religious cults, as, e.g., the rigorous fasting enjoined by the Eleusinian Mysteries, the fast-day in the sacred calendar of the Attic *Thesmophoria*, the fasting preparatory to incubation in the chthonian cults, etc.* But none of these ever got beyond the embryonic stage, as they did not emanate from any systematic religious conception of the world. Ascetic movements of real significance make their first appearance among the ecstatic seers and purifiers of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Thus Abaris, whom Pindar (frag. 270 B) names as a contemporary of Croesus, is said to have carried the golden arrow of Apollo over the whole earth without taking food.† In Strabo, vii. 301, he appears as the pattern *ἐγκολίας καὶ λιτό-ρμος καὶ δικάσιωνης*—a description, of course, merely legendary and idealizing. The famous seer and purifier, Epimenides of Crete, is also extolled by ancient authorities for his rigorous fasting and his ascetic mode of life in general.‡ While it may be the case that these reports all proceed from the *Pseudepimenidea* of Onomacritus, we have nevertheless no reason to doubt the ascetic tendencies of the persons named, or of kindred spirits. This is, in fact, confirmed by the account given in Hippocrates, *de Morb. Sacr.* c. 1 (Littre, ii. 354 ff.), of the rules of abstinence prescribed by such purifiers.§ The purpose of these regulations and ceremonies was to purify men from the contaminating touch of demons. And, indeed, the practice of cathartics in general arose mainly from the dread of demonic powers, with their standing menace of pollution. Such ideas had not yet taken shape in the Homeric age.

These germinal notions, however, could not develop into a genuine asceticism until men had become conscious of an opposition between body and soul. No doubt the idea that the soul may pursue an independent existence apart from the body belongs to the remote past, the phenomena of dreams, the trance of 'possession,' as also the frequently abrupt transition from life to death, all having tended to suggest such a thought to primitive man. But the feeling of an *opposition*, the surmise that the soul is in its nature divine, while the body is merely its prison-house, makes its first appearance in Greece as a result of the experiences of men in a state of *ecstasy*, notably in connexion with the Dionysan cult. It was, in fact, the triumphal advance of the Dionysan religion which first gave currency to the conviction that the soul acquires hitherto unsuspected powers once it is free from the trammels of the body—a conviction presently appropriated by the adherents of Orphism. 'Of small account, as contrasted with the soul, ever striving after freedom, must appear the body, as that which obstructs, which fetters, and which must be cast off.' . . . 'It was all but inevitable

* Not only in the Demeter cult, but also in the worship of deities of foreign extraction: Cybele, or, later, Isis, or, finally, Mithras.

† Herodot. iv. 36; Plato, *Charmides*, 168 B; Lycurg. frag. 86; Iamblich. *Vit. Pythag.* 141.

‡ Diog. Laert. i. 114 = Diels, *Frag.* 2 ii. 490, l. 16 ff.; Plato, *Lazus*, iii. 677 D (reference to Hesiod, *Op.* 401.); Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 157 D = Diels, *Frag.* 2 492, 27 n.; Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* vii. 12, 1. *Char.* 16 = *Frag.* 2 493, No. 6.

§ With Hippocrates' sketch cf. the Pythagorean regulations in Diog. Laert. viii. 83.

that one who had become familiar with the idea of the antagonism between body and soul, especially if he moved in the circle of cathartic ideas and practices, should hit upon the thought that the soul itself must be "purified" from the body as a defiling encumbrance (Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 101).'

This feeling of the rigid *opposition between soul and body*, as also of their vital and radical *difference in value*, forms the one main source of asceticism. The other is to be looked for in the nascent *consciousness of sin*, and the consequent *yearning for redemption*, in troubled souls.* Before the age of (let us say) Hesiod, such feelings had no place whatever in Greek life. They sprang from a pessimistic outlook upon earthly existence (cf. art. PESSIMISM), the proximate causes of which probably lay in the social and political conditions as well as in the revolutionary changes of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Asceticism was regarded as a means of liberating the soul from the bondage of the flesh and of the world of sense in general (that the body is the prison of the soul was one of the leading ideas of Orphism†): by the practice of asceticism, in fact, the soul, divine in origin, but meanwhile immured in the body by reason of its guilt, might free itself from every corporeal bond, as from the whole 'cycle of becoming,' and, venturing forth upon its flight to the Deity, at length become one therewith.‡ Here we come upon the conjunction of asceticism and mysticism.

1. Orphism.—Views of this character make their first appearance in the communities named after the Thracian bard Orpheus, which can be traced to about the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. The Orphic sect, which in the 6th cent. appears to have had its main centre in Athens,—witness the fact that Onomacritus flourished at the Court of the Pisistratidae,—seems, towards the end of the same century, to have found a particularly congenial soil in lower Italy and Sicily.§ Fresh and surprising evidence of this has been furnished by the gold leaves found in tombs of the 4th and 3rd cents. B.C. at Petilia, near Thurii. An inscription of like import, moreover, dating from the 2nd cent. B.C., has been discovered at Eleutherna in Crete. While Orphism was never assimilated by the civic religion,|| and while the various Orphic cults from the 4th cent. onwards degenerated more and more into esoteric mysteries and nonconforming communities, they nevertheless continued to exist till the close of the ancient era, and still exercised a profound influence upon Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism, as well as upon early Christian ideas regarding the other world and the experiences of the soul after death. The central feature of the Orphic faith was constituted by the fortunes of the god Dionysus-Zagreus, who as a child was torn in pieces and devoured by the Titans, Athene being able to recover his heart only; this she carried to Zeus, who, having swallowed it, presently, with Semele, begot the 'new Dionysus,' and destroyed the Titans with a thunderbolt. From their ashes afterwards arose the human race, and, accordingly, there are in man two constituent elements—a Dionysan and a Titanic. It is the Dionysan constituent that generates the human soul, and man must free himself as far as possible from the Titanic element in order to return once more to the deity whose essence he likewise shares.

The outstanding feature of early Orphic asceticism was the *prohibition of animal food* (cf. Euripides, *Hippolyt.* 952 = Diels, *Frag.* 2 471, No. 8).

* Orphica, frag. 228.

† Cf. especially Plato, *Cratyl.* 400 C; *Phædo*, 628 = Orphica, frag. 221 (Abel).

‡ Cf. e.g. Orphica, frag. 226.

§ The earliest specific mention of the sect is in Herod. ii. 81.

|| E. Maass is of a different opinion.

In Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1032, Aeschylus (who had probably been initiated into the Orphic mysteries) says:

‘Ορφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ’ ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ’ ἀπέχεσθαι.
Cf. Euripides, frag. 476 N², v. 16 ff.:

Πάλλευκα δ’ ἔχων εἴματα φεύγω
γένεσιν καὶ βροτῶν καὶ νεκροβήκη
οὐ χριμπτόμενος τήν τ’ ἐμψύχων
βρώσιν ἐδεστών πεφύλαγμαί.¹

See also Plato, *Laure*, vi. 782 C: οὐδὲ βοδὴ ἐτόλμων μὲν γεῖσθαι θύματα τὰ οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖς ζῶα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδεμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἀγνά θύματα, σαρκῶν δ’ ἀπέχοντο ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ἐν ἐσθίειν οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμοὺς αἵματι μαιίνειν, ἀλλὰ Ὀρφικοὶ τινες λεγόμενοι βλοῖ ἐγίνοντο ἡμῶν τοῖς τότε, ἀψύχων μὲν ἐχόμενοι πάντων, ἐμψύχων δὲ τούναντιον πάντων ἀπεχόμενοι.² The prohibition not only applied to the eating of flesh, but covered all food-stuffs of animal origin, even eggs (frag. 42, Abel); and, amongst vegetables, beans: cf. Diels, *Frag.* 214, 28: φέρεται δὲ καὶ Ὀρφέως τάδε ἔπη, Δειλοί, πανδειλοί, κυάμων ἀπὸ χείρας ἔχεσθαι καὶ Ἰσὼν τοι κυάμωνος τε φαγεῖν κεφαλὰς τε τακτῶν.

The reason of these prohibitions was that the things referred to were used by the *χθόνιοι* in their sacrifices to the dead and as food; † in the case of eggs, a further consideration was perhaps the fact that these contained the germ of life (cf. frag. 42, Abel). The practice of *fasting* (*νηστεία*) seems also to have had a place in Orphic asceticism. §

‘As a matter of fact, the things and conditions from which they really kept themselves unspotted were those which represented in the symbolism of religion, rather than involved in actual practice, a dependence upon the world of death and impermanence’ (Rohde, *op. cit.* ii. 126).

The Orphic asceticism, however, like the *Ὀρφεῖδος βίος* in general, probably had, even in its early stages, an ethical import as well. This is certainly not the opinion of Erwin Rohde, who, speaking of this asceticism, says: ‘It does not enjoin the practice of the civic virtues, nor is discipline or transformation of character required by it; the sum-total of its morality is to bend one’s course towards the deity, and turn away, not from the moral lapses and aberrations of earthly life, but from earthly existence itself’ (*op. cit.* ii. 125, cf. ii. 102). On the other hand, Gomperz writes: ‘What distinguishes the Orphic branch of the Greek religion from the other Mysteries is the extraordinary emphasis it laid upon morality, an approximation to which is found only in the Apollinarian cult centralized at Delphi. This deepening of the moral consciousness may well be regarded as the true source of the most important and most characteristic element in the Orphic teachings about the soul’ (*Griech. Denker*³, i. 107, cf. 434). || It would certainly seem that the view of Gomperz, as compared with that of Rohde, is so far the right one, though the former has possibly somewhat exaggerated the moral factor.

2. *Pythagoreanism*.—Orphic ideas exercised a vast influence upon the succeeding period. In the first place, cognate views and practices are found among the early Pythagoreans. It is, of course, impossible to determine precisely how far such ideas are traceable to Pythagoras himself, as the oral traditions of the school are all we have to go upon till the time of Philolaus, i.e. the middle of the 5th cent. B.C.; ¶ but general considerations seem to favour the theory of their being so derived. With regard to Pythagoras, indeed, we are certain of only two of his cardinal tenets, viz. the immortality of the soul, and the transmigration of souls. ** But when we bear in mind how intimately these two tenets are connected with asceticism among the adherents of Orphism, with whose

¹ Diels, *op. cit.* 492, 27 n., where for frag. 472 read frag. 475.

² Cf. also Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conviv.* 159 C; further, the late Orphic *Lithika*, 363 (proscription of animal food), 699 f. (proscription of animal sacrifice).

³ The prohibition of burying the dead in woollen clothes is already noted by Herodotus, ii. 81; cf. Rohde, ii. 126, 1.

⁴ Diels, *Frag.* 2 p. 482, 4 ff. On this see Diels, *Orphischer Demeterhymnus*, 6 ff.

⁵ Endorsed by Ernst Maass, *Orpheus*, 167 f.

⁶ Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 22.

** Herod. ii. 123 = Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 22, No. 1; Xenophanes, frag. 7 D; cf. Empedocles, frag. 129.

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Mysteries Pythagoras was undoubtedly acquainted, and when we find unmistakable traces of the ascetic mode of life even among the oldest Pythagoreans, we need hardly hesitate to infer that the founder of the school was himself an ascetic. Even Herodotus (ii. 81) speaks of the prohibition of burying the dead in woollen clothes as being not only an Orphic, but also a Pythagorean, ordinance; while, again, the doctrine of the *ἀποχή ἐμψύχων* was attributed to Pythagoras by the geographer Eudoxus (c. 280 B.C.).* The contrary opinion expressed by Aristoxenus† is really meant to apply only to contemporary Pythagorean scholars with whom he was intimate. ‡ The interdict against the use of beans seems likewise to belong to the early school. § It cannot be doubted that the early Pythagoreans were distinguished by their *simple life*. || A peculiar feature in their asceticism, from the 4th cent. at least, seems to have been *silence*, originally resorted to, no doubt, as a means of avoiding sacrilegious or ill-omened language in their religious practices; compare what is said by Isocrates (*Busiris*, 28) regarding the Pythagoreans of his own time. ¶ It should also be noted that anticipations of *sexual* asceticism, or continence, are apparently found in connexion with the primitive school. **

Meagre as these notices are, they are sufficient to show us that purity (*ἀγνεία*, *ἀγνότητα*) in the ceremonial religious sense was the ideal of the ‘Italic’ philosophers no less than of the Orphic cults. Moreover, when we compare with them the teaching of Pythagoras regarding the immortality and the transmigration of the soul, and that of Philolaus regarding the human body as a house of detention wherein the soul expiates its guilt (frag. 14 D), it would appear that early Pythagorean asceticism sprang from the same fundamental causes, and had the same objects in view, as that of Orphism, the influence of which upon the former is unmistakable. Pythagoreanism, further, had also an ethical tendency; thus one of its characteristic virtues was *σωφροσύνη*, which was supposed to be promoted by asceticism, and which unquestionably had a place in the system before the days of Aristoxenus. ††

3. *Empedocles*.—While we may thus deduce from a tradition, fragmentary at best and overgrown with later traditions, the fairly definite fact that among the ancient Pythagoreans asceticism was intimately associated with mystical theories about the soul, the same conjunction of ideas is brought out in strong relief in the case of the last great purifier of ancient Greece, viz. Empedocles of Acragas, who likewise belonged to the West. Further, the moral and religious views of Empedocles resemble those of the Pythagoreans in the circumstance of their having no organic connexion with his philosophical or scientific

* Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 7 = Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 24, 39 ff. See also Strabo, xv. 710, from Onesicritus (c. 320 B.C.), frag. 10 M = Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 24, 42 f.; Diog. Laert. viii. 20; Callimachus, frag. 33 A = Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 270, 27 f.; also Diog. Laert. viii. 33, from Alexander Polyhistor; for the later period, passages from the Middle Comedy, in which the ‘Pythagorists’ are ridiculed; Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 291, 41 ff.; 292, 1 ff., 47 f.

† Diog. Laert. viii. 20; Gellius, iv. 11. 1 = Diels, *Frag.* 2 24, 47 ff. Rohde (ii. 164, i. 102, 6) seems to have grasped the point better than Zeller, i. 317, note 3, 4, 5; 813, 5.

‡ Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 279, 81 ff. = Aristotle, frag. 195 (Rose). Cf. also Diels², i. 214, 19 ff. Of course the explanations of Aristotle, as well as those given by Gellius, are quite inept. Cf. also Schroeder in *WZKM* xv. 187–212.

§ Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 268, No. 3; 284, 2 ff.; 288, 23 ff.; 289, 4 ff.; from the Middle Comedy, Diels², i. 291, 81 ff.; 292, 10 ff., 30 ff.; 293, 9 ff.—caricatures, of course.

¶ Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 23, 2; cf. 283, 4 f.; 285, 8 ff.; from the Middle Comedy, *op. cit.* 295, 27.

** Diels², i. 23, 36 ff.; 29, 1 ff.; cf. especially Ikkos (Diels, *Frag.* 2 i. 105, No. 2), further, the statement of Cleimias, *ib.* 207, No. 6; cf. also 289, 8 ff.; 290, 20 ff.; Diog. Laert. viii. 33, *καθαρῶν ἀπὸ λέχους*.

†† Cf. especially Diels, *Frag.* 2 287, 33 ff.; 288, 10 ff.; 289, 46 ff.

theories. In his poem called *Katharoi*, abstinence from animal food, and, in fact, avoidance of blood-shedding in general, are very specially inculcated, and are based upon the theory of transmigration and that of the close affinity of man and animal—a concatenation of thought which we may perhaps suppose, though we cannot prove, to have obtained among the ancient Orphics and Pythagoreans.

So Hippolytus, *Refutationes*, viii. 29, 249 = Diels, *Frag.* 21. 208, 29 ff.: διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην οὖν τοῦ ἀλεθρίου Νείκου διακόσμησιν τοῦδε τοῦ μεμερισμένου κόσμου πάντων ἐμφύχων ὁ Ἐ. τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ μαθητὰς ἀπέχεσθαι παρακαλεῖ· εἶναι γὰρ φησὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ζῴων τὰ ἐσθιόμενα ψυχῶν κεκολασμένων οικητήρια.*

Frag. 140 is also worthy of note, as enunciating the inviolability of the laurel (on this cf. Rohde, ii. 181, 2). In strict consistency, of course, Empedocles ought to have affirmed the inviolable nature of trees in general (as is justly observed by Plutarch, *Quest. Conviv.* iii. 1, 2, 646 D, in reference to the passage cited), since souls migrate also into trees and plants.† On the other hand, the interdict against beans,‡ which Empedocles has in common with the Orphics and the Pythagoreans, probably sprang from the same motive in his case as in theirs.§

The deeper significance of these ascetic injunctions, to which Empedocles manifestly attaches enormous importance for the soul's welfare, and their close connexion with his mystical standpoint, are fully disclosed in the still extant fragments of his *Katharoi*. For him, too, the divine nature of the soul is an indefeasible fact,|| and he likewise accepts the doctrine of the soul's fall from its original divine condition into the corporeal state, in which it must expiate its guilt by a long pilgrimage through the bodies of men, animals, and plants.¶ Empedocles also shares the view that the human body is the disparate integument of the soul (frag. 126). He regards asceticism as one of the most effective means of delivering the soul from the world of sense. 'Who ever exerteth himself with toil, him can we release'; the soul at length returns to its divine habitat, and indeed the wise men who practise such holy living—the asceticism of Empedocles having a strong ethical tendency**—eventually become gods while yet upon the earth (frag. 146), so that the poet even speaks of himself as a god (frag. 112, 4 ff., and frag. 113).

It is certainly the case that Empedocles was strongly influenced by the teachings of Orphism, as has, in fact, been made out, with reference to certain particular points, by Otto Kern.†† While this is so, it would nevertheless be wrong, the present writer thinks, to deny the influence of the ancient Pythagorean Mysteries and asceticism.‡‡

* Cf. the passages given in Diels at frag. 135 (p. 213, 1 ff.), especially Cicero, *de Republ.* iii. 11, 19, and Iamblichus, *Vita Pyth.* 108, and frag. 135 D; further, cf. especially frag. 136 (Empedocles): οὐ παύσασθε φόνου δυσήχεος; οὐκ ὀσώρατε | ἀλλήλους δάπτοντες ἀκηδέρισι νόοιο; with this cf. Sextus, *adv. Math.* ix. 127 (from Posidonius) in Diels, *Frag.* 21. 213, 19 ff., also frag. 137 D, and passages there; Porphyry, *de Abst.* ii. 21 = Diels, i. 210, 22 ff., also frag. 139; and Porphyry, ii. 31 = Diels, p. 214, 9 ff.

† Frag. 117. Cf. Zeller², i. 808 ff., 824, 827.

‡ Frag. 141. See the relevant passages in Diels, i. 214, 19 ff.; Diog. Laert. viii. 54 = Diels, 279, 31 ff.; Loebck, *Aglaophamus*, i. 254.

§ Special attention is due to the passage, Hippolytus, *Refutationes*, viii. 29, 249 = Diels, *Frag.* 208, 32 ff., where the injunction καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι . . . τῆς πρὸς γυναικα ὁμιλίας, κ.τ.λ., is attributed to Empedocles.

|| Diels, *Frag.* i. 159, S. 1. καὶ θεὸς μὲν οἰεταὶ τὰς ψυχὰς, θεῖους δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετέγοντας αὐτῶν καθαρῶς καθάρως. Cf. *Frag.* i. 173, 1, and note by Rohde, ii. 135, 1.

¶ See especially the magnificent fragment, 115, and the passages cited in connexion therewith by Diels, who also refers to the famous passage in Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248 C, as an imitation. Cf. also Diels, i. 219, 17 ff.; frag. 119, and relevant passages in Diels; frag. 121 (Rohde, ii. 178, 1).

** Frag. 112, 9 f.; 144, 145.

†† We do not agree with Kern, however, in regard to every point.

‡‡ Cf. Empedocles, frag. 129, and the passages given there.

To say nothing of the affinity between the views of Empedocles and those of the Pythagoreans,* it is impossible that one who lived at so short a distance from Magna Græcia could remain ignorant of Pythagorean doctrine, or that one of his cast of mind should not be deeply influenced thereby.

4. Plato.—This whole process of development, beginning with the ecstatic seers and purifiers of the 7th cent., may be said in one sense to reach its end, but in another to arrive at its culminating point, in the Platonic philosophy. In Plato, the founder of the idealistic view of the world, philosophical thought and theological thought merge and combine with one another in a wonderful way. The Divine origin of the soul, its pre-existence, its fall into corporeality, its judgment after death, its expiatory wanderings through the bodies of animals or men, according to its character, its final redemption from the cycle of re-births, and its return to God—all these various doctrines, in their main features at least, were borrowed by Plato directly from the 'theologians,' i.e., in a special sense, the Orphics. The manner in which he amalgamates them with the results of his philosophical speculation is, however, all his own.

In the early stages of Plato's thought the two worlds of becoming and being stand in the relation of sheer opposition: here, the world of sense, with its unresting flux of ever-changing phenomena; there, the supersensuous world of eternally self-identical and absolutely unchangeable realities, of the 'Ideas,' of what alone truly exists. The human soul, however, occupies a peculiar position between the two; it is of Divine origin, and while not itself an Idea, it is 'most like' one, and partakes of the Idea of life. In its state of pre-existence in the supramundane sphere it has gazed upon the Ideas, but, having fallen into the state of corporeality, it has forgotten them; and only by its recollection thereof (*ἀνάμνησις*) can it possibly attain to true knowledge. Such leading principles must of necessity result in a pessimistic attitude to the world and its supposed goods,† that is, in a world-renouncing morality. Withdrawal from the life of the body, which only impedes and constrains the soul; the utmost detachment of the soul from its prison-house in the flesh (the philosophic 'dying' so impressively depicted by Socrates in *Phædo* [especially p. 64 ff.]); disengagement from the world of sense in general, with its phantasmagoria of delusive appearances—these things go to form the end which the friend of wisdom must keep in view.

In the *Theat.* 176 A we read: διδὲ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι καὶ ἐνθάδε (from this world) ἐκίστε (to the gods) φεγγέν ὅτι τάχιστα. Similarly, philosophy becomes κάθαρσις; *Phædo*, 67 A: ἐν ᾧ ἂν ζώμεν οὕτως ἐγγύατω ἱσμέθα τοῦ εἰδέναι, ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα μηδὲν ὀμνῶμεν τῷ σώματι μηδὲ κοινωνῶμεν, ὅτι μὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, μηδὲ ἀναπληρώμεθα τῆς τοῦτον φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθαρῶμεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἂν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀπολύσῃ ἡμᾶς.† καὶ οὕτως μὲν καθαρῶι ἀπαλαττόμενοι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀφροσύνης, ὥς τὸ εὖχος, μετὰ τοούτων τε ἱσμέθα καὶ γνωσμέθα δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πᾶν τὸ εὐκρινές· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἴσως τὸ ἀληθές· μὴ καθαρῶ γὰρ καθαρῶ εὐάπτεσθαι μὴ οὐ θεμίζον ἢ κ.τ.λ.; § 67 C: κάθαρσις δὲ εἶναι ἄρα οὐ τοῦτο ἐμβαλεῖ, ὅπερ πάσαι ἐν τῷ λόγῳ λέγεται, τὸ χωρίζειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ εἰδίσαι αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν πανταχόθεν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος συναγορεύεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπορίεσθαι, καὶ οἰεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑπείτα μόνῃ καθ' αὐτὴν, ἐκλυομένην ὥστερ δεσμῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος; ||

* Cf. also Cicero, *de Republ.* iii. 11, 19; Iamblichus, *Vita Pyth.* 108 = Diels, *Frag.* 213, 5 ff.; Sextus, *adv. Math.* ix. 127, quoted by Diels at frag. 136. The passages Diog. Laert. viii. 53, cf. 51 = Diels, 150, 22 f., cf. 154, 44 ff., refer to the grandfather of Empedocles, who bore the same name, and who, according to the latter passage (Athenæus, i. 5), had been a Pythagorean.

† Cf. *o.g. Gorg.* 519 A, *Repub.* vii. 515 D, *Laws*, vii. 803 B; and Rohde, ii. 281.

‡ Both the Orphic and the Platonic teaching make suicide a crime; the period of one's earthly existence is to be determined by the Deity alone.

§ Cf. 82 C ff., *Rep.* vii. 514 ff., *Phædo*, 62 B, 66 B, *Cratyl.* 400 B. || Cf., further, 69 C, *Cratyl.* 403 E; Rohde, ii. 281, 4; 282, 1; 285, 2.

The philosopher also will therefore stand aloof from the enterprises and pursuits of his fellow-citizens, and, as one withdrawn from the community at large, will give himself entirely to the task of becoming holy.

On its positive side, however, this *katharsis* from all that is earthly implies a turning towards God. By renouncing the present world the soul becomes free to follow its true vocation—the knowledge of the *ὅπτως ἐν*, the vision of the Ideas, and especially the Idea of the Good, the highest of them all. But the Ideas constitute the realm of divine realities. Thus the soul which, though of heavenly origin, had been cramped and defiled through its fall, becomes God-like by the possession of that highest *knowledge* which is identical with virtue.

Cf. *Theat.* 176 B—in connexion with the passages given above: *φύσιν* (from the corporeal) *δὲ ὁμοιωσὶς θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*· ὁμοιωσὶς δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι. 176 C: *θεὸς οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὅς οἱ ὅλον τε δίκαιοτατος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὁμοίωτερον οὐδὲν ἢ δεῖ αὐτῶν αὐτὸ γένεσθαι ὅτι δίκαιοτατος*. 'To know God is to become divine' (Rohde). The philosopher, therefore, lives entirely in the *ἐπιστήμη* of the truly existent, this being rendered possible only by complete renunciation of the world.

Such is Plato's standpoint in the *Phædo*, as, indeed, also in the *Theætetus* and the *Gorgias*, a standpoint which, were it consistently applied, would put an end to all life and all progress upon the earth. As has been aptly observed by Eucken, however, 'in this relinquishment of the world we have the real Plato and the consistent Plato, but by no means the complete Plato.' In his later elucidation of the Ideal theory, Plato admits the possibility of mediation between the two worlds. Conceiving now of the Ideas as the final causes of phenomena, he sees the Divine realities looming through the world of sense, and he is thus able to regard the realization of the Ideas in practical life as the true task of mankind. Besides the all-pervading religious factor in Plato's thought, the æsthetic and the social factors are also active. Thus, to quote Eucken again:

'That ascetic tendency [in Plato] underwent considerable modification, and even some reaction, as has been the case with all its adherents who did not forget humanity at large in the individual. But that which upon Indian, and often also upon Christian, soil won at best a grudging recognition, found in Plato a native propensity in its favour; alike as a Greek and as the friend, nay, the discoverer of the Beautiful, he was bound with a thousand ties to the actual world.'

But nevertheless the opposition between the two spheres—between renunciation of the world and its transfiguration, between philosophical and theological thought—was never completely adjusted, and it shows itself unmistakably in Plato himself.

'In Plato's own nature the phlegmatic blood of the thinker co-existed with the lively heart-beat of the artist; there was a cleavage in the inner man; for, while his philosophy allured him into the realm of immaterial forms, yet the whole magic of Hellenic beauty was at work within him' (Windelband, *Gesch. der Philosophie*⁸, p. 100).*

And, we may venture to add, he was thrilled with the desire to intervene in the moral, social, and political conditions of the world, with a view to succour, to ameliorate, to reform, as is well shown in the *Republic* and the *Laws*.

Plato was the discoverer of the supersensual world. The kingdom for which his lofty soul yearned was 'not of this world.' He purified the beliefs and ideas of the Orphic cult; he spiritualized and glorified them,† thereby becoming a religious reformer—probably the greatest, after Jesus Christ, our race has known.

5. Cynicism.—The asceticism thus far dealt with—religious asceticism, as it might be called—rests upon a twofold dualism; body and soul, Earth and the Beyond, being sharply and almost irreconcilably opposed to one another. But while among the earlier adherents of the older Aca-

* See specially the *Symposium* and the *Philebus*.

† Cf. Windelband, *Platon*, 141: 'He implements the Orphic doctrine of the destiny of the soul, throughout its entire range, with the principle of moral responsibility and retribution.'

demy, as, e.g., Philippus of Opus, Heraclides Ponticus, probably Xenocrates too, and even in the youthful Aristotle (Rohde, ii. 297), a negative and ascetic attitude towards the world is still discernible (Polemon and Crantor being the first to secede therefrom), an entirely different congeries of ideas had given birth to a kind of asceticism which, in contrast to the religious, may be called the *rationalistic and ethical*, or more precisely the *volitional* asceticism. Its roots are to be found in the Socratic teaching. It is, of course, true that the ascetic aspect of the figure of Socrates portrayed by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia* and the *Symposium* belongs not to the historical but to the Antisthenic Socrates. (Xen. *Symp.* iv. 38 may serve as a striking illustration of this; on the whole question, cf. Joel's great work.) Further, the much-lauded temperance of Socrates, as has been aptly observed by Zeller (ii. i.⁴ 68), has nothing ascetic about it. His temperance, in fact, was not calculated abstinence from enjoyment, but only an expression of spiritual freedom; he would not be dependent upon enjoyment, nor would he sacrifice to it his self-command (Zeller, ii. i. 57, 66, 68, 155 ff., 162 ff.).

But, as has been admirably said by Theodor Gomperz (*op. cit.* ii. 113) in reference to the views of life held by Socrates:

'In certain particulars he had certainly abandoned the view of life current amongst his people and his fellow-citizens; thus, in regard to one leading feature of that view, viz. its appreciation of external goods, including life itself, he ranks the health of the soul and inner peace of mind as incomparably higher than all.'

Here we have the germ of the ascetic strain in the *Cynic* ethics. Nevertheless, man's inner happiness, his *εὐδαιμονία*, was a matter upon which even Antisthenes, the founder of the school, laid the strongest emphasis, and in his view it could be won only by means of *ἀρετή*, 'moral excellence.' This moral excellence alone, therefore, as was argued by the uncompromising spirit of Antisthenes, is to count as a good; everything else in the world, as making no contribution to man's *εὐδαιμονία*, is simply indifferent, an *ἀδιάφορον*. The conviction of the utter worthlessness of earthly goods, moreover, brought the Cynics—even Antisthenes, and still more his pupil Diogenes, and subsequently Crates and others—quite consistently to the standpoint of *world-renunciation*.

Virtue, according to the Cynics, consists in right knowledge (*φρόνησις*) coupled with moral volition.* Their ethic, as formulated by Antisthenes, was above all a volitional ethic. Moral volition, however, as they held, was steered by *πόνος*, by *ἀσκησις*. The latter word properly means the *exercise* or *practice* which was pre-eminently demanded by the Cynic conception of virtue,† since virtue, in the opinion of Antisthenes, was not simply theoretical knowledge regarding good and evil, but rather practical moral excellence, strength of character asserting itself against all *περυστάσεις*.‡ By virtue alone, he taught, does man attain to felicity. In what, then, does felicity consist? In that genuine freedom which is based upon independence of all external things—*αὐτάρκεια*—and in freedom from all desires and affections—*ἀπάθεια*. In order to

* Diog. Laert. vi. 11 (teaching of Antisthenes): *Αὐτάρκη τὴν ἀρετὴν εἶναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, μηδενὸς προσδεμένην, οὐ μὴ Σωκρατικῆς ἰσχύος*. Cf. also the Cynic *ἐγκράτεια*.

† The word certainly goes back to Antisthenes himself; cf. Xenophon, *Sympos.* viii. 27, *Memorab.* ii. 6. 20, where Socrates speaks of the *ἀσκήσις* of *ἀρετῆς*. Cf. also *Memorab.* i. 2. 20 and 23, i. 2. 10, where Xenophon has even *ἀσκήν φρόνησιν*, as Isocrates, *Busir.* § 22, has *φιλοσοφίας ἀσκήσιν*; both writers undoubtedly follow the example of Antisthenes. For the latter *φρόνησις* is inseparably connected with *ἀρετή*, and his whole philosophy is the practice of virtue based upon intelligence.

‡ On Heracles as an ascetic for the purpose of acquiring virtue, see Dio, *Orat.* lx., especially p. 310; on Diogenes struggle against *πόνος*, see Dio, viii. 12 ff., especially § 15; Marcus Aurelius, ii. 17.

render himself as independent of the external as possible, the Cynic endeavours to reduce his wants to a minimum; and in order to win his inner freedom (*ἀπάθεια*), he exercises himself in combating and overcoming the affections (so Diogenes, cf. Dio, ix. 12), more especially in fighting against *ἡδονή* (Diogenes, as in Dio, viii. 20 ff., ix. 12; cf. Lucian, *Vit. auct.* 8; Teles, frag. v. H).

This world-abjuring tendency in Cynic ethics found its chief expression in a negative attitude towards the family, the State, and the idea of nationality, and towards the great traditions of Greek history, even those of the Persian war; and in the position the Cynics assumed towards Greek religion, art, and science. This is to be explained in part by the fact that Antisthenes was but half Greek by blood, and that Diogenes sprang from the lower classes. Even in their boasted cosmopolitanism the Cynics were in earnest only with the negative constituent, viz. their detachment from State and nationality.

The real asceticism of the Cynics showed itself, above all, in their mode of life, which they reduced to the simplest conceivable form: thus their food consisted chiefly of lupines, dried figs, peeled barley and water; their clothing was practically limited to the *χιτών*, their feet being *ἀνυπόδητοι*; while their place of abode, i.e. their lodging by night, was in the open air or among the pillars of the temple in summer, and in the bathing-houses in winter. By inuring the body to the extreme of rigour, they—more especially Diogenes—sought to strengthen their power of will (Diog. Laert. vi. 23, 34).

The significance attached to asceticism by Diogenes, who had already distinguished two kinds of *ἀσκήσις*—one purely physical, the other both physical and psychical (Diog. Laert. vi. 70 f.)—is shown by his apothegm: *Οὐδέν γε τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χωρὶς ἀσκήσεως κατορθοῦσθαι, δυνατὴν δὲ ταύτην πᾶν ἐκνικήσαι*. A significant, and characteristically Hellenic, feature of Cynic ethics, however, was its attitude towards the sexual impulse. To the Cynics this appeared to be no less natural than hunger itself, and therefore likewise to require satisfaction—though in the simplest and least expensive way. Thus Diogenes is in no way scandalized at either masturbation or illicit intercourse (marriage had, of course, no meaning for him); in fact, as the gratification of sexual desire was reckoned *κατὰ φύσιν* by the Cynics, many of them, such as Diogenes and Crates (with Hipparchia), had no scruples about indulging even in the presence of others, thus showing a gross lack of modesty, to say nothing of good taste. Nevertheless, those who indulged beyond the requirements of nature were looked upon as the slaves of pleasure (*ἡδονή*), and this they reckoned the worst of evils.*

Antisthenes did not himself lay so much stress on the external aspects of the Cynic mode of life; what he did was rather, it would seem, to make a virtue of necessity. Very much more did externals weigh with his gifted pupil Diogenes, as also with Crates, his wife Hipparchia, her brother Metrocles, and others.† The asceticism of the Neo-Cynics during the Roman Imperial period will be dealt with in connexion with the later Stoics.

Primitive Cynicism reproached even innocent enjoyment. Further, from the time of Diogenes at

least, the Cynics tended to make too much of the external aspect of their mode of life. But an asceticism which sprang from an ethical standpoint so grossly individualistic could be of no permanent value to human society. Still, in putting to the test of actual practice the dictum that man's true happiness does not depend upon his circumstances, the Cynics made a valuable contribution to human progress; while, from another side, their belief that moral volition is an essential constituent of virtue was pregnant with significance for the future.

6. Stoicism.—Of the leading principles of the early Cynic *ἀσκήσις** only one was of exceptional importance, viz. the idea that virtue can be acquired only by unremitting practice. In this particular point, which involved an emphasizing of the volitional factor in virtue, the Cynics made an advance upon Socrates; it was, in fact, a thought destined to be fruitful for all time, and in the further development thereof special credit is due to the Stoics. We must not forget, indeed, that the Stoa was preceded by Aristotle, who in his *Ethics* had already distinguished two orders of virtues, viz. the ethical and the dianoetic (e.g. *Eth. Nicom.* ii. 1. 1103 A, 14 ff., i. 13. 1102 B, 33 ff.). Ethical virtue (*ἀρετή ἐστι περὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις* [*Eth. Nicom.* ii. 6. 1106 B]) *ἐξ ἑθους περιγλυφεται* (ii. 1. 1103 A, 17). Since the irrational impulse, with its resultant desire, is often stronger than the volition which springs from *φρόνησις*, it is only by means of exercise that the individual can acquire that *ἐγκράτεια* which enables him, even in opposition to the stronger desire, to do what he recognizes as right. Now, *ἐγκράτεια* is a sub-species of *σωφροσύνη*, which, again, is one of the 'ethical' virtues. But the idea of a psychological independence of the will—apart from the intellect—was foreign to Aristotle.

It must certainly be admitted that among the early Stoics, so closely related to the Cynics in many other things, the volitional moment in virtue does not stand out very prominently, though this may be due partly, of course, to the fragmentary character of our available sources. Unmistakable traces of the idea, nevertheless, are still extant, and yeoman service has been rendered by Adolf Dyroff in bringing these to light. The personal ideal of the Stoic doctrine of virtue—the wise man—has, of course, no further need of practice; but all the more is practice necessary for the neophytes, the *προκόπτοντες* (cf. Zeno, frag. 234 A). The founder of the school valued practical example more highly than arguments against pleasure (frag. 241); witness also his significant utterance: *οὐδενὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτω πένεσθαι ὥς χρόνου. βραχὺς γὰρ ὄντως ὁ βίος, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς νόσους ἰᾶσθαι δυναμένην* (frag. 323). His successor Cleanthes likewise places moral conduct higher than theory, and that he recognizes the element of volition in virtue is shown by frag. 563. It is accordingly easy to understand why Cleanthes, like Antisthenes before him, regarded the *πόνος* as *ἀγαθόν* (frag. 611), while frag. 129 (Gercke) furnishes special evidences of the fact that Chrysippus, 'the second founder of the Stoa,' appreciated the value of practice and habit in the attainment of virtue. The task of becoming virtuous, or since only a few finally attain that end—that coming as near to perfect virtue as possible, belong

* Antisthenes, frag. xi. 1, Winkelman, p. 29 (Clemens Alex. *Strom.* ii. 20, p. 436, Potter); Diog. Laert. vi. 3: *μαεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἡδονῇ*.

† Cf. e.g. Diog. Laert. vi. 23, 34, 48, 70 f. Concerning Crates, see Diog. Laert. vi. 87 (Diels, *Poeta Philosoph. Gr.* 207). Further, Teles, frag., *πόνος αὐταρκείας καὶ πόνος πενίας καὶ πλούτου*, 30, 10 ff., 31, 2 ff.; Crates, frag. 4, 7, 12, 13 (Diels). Main sources for ancient Cynicism: Diog. Laert. vi.; Xenophon, *Memorab.* and *Sympos.*; Teles, ed. O. Hense, fr. v.–vii.; also Dio, especially *Orat.* 6, 8, 9, 10.

* No doubt, the doctrine of the absolute worthlessness of earthly goods was taken over by the Stoics, but it was subsequently modified by Zeno in his differentiation of three grades of *ἀδιάφορα*, viz., *προηγμένα*, *μέσα*, and *ἀποπροηγμένα*, whereby at least a certain relative value was assigned to sundry material goods. On the other hand, the *αὐτάρκεια* of the Cynics was spiritualized by the Stoics, who put no special value on the ascetic mode of life. Only in the case of certain adherents of the later Stoa, such as Musonius, and, in some degree, also Epictetus, did a change in this respect take place.

to the will, and cannot be performed without practice (cf. also frag. 214, 278 A). Chrysippus gave full recognition to the value of personal effort in the work of attaining perfection. True insight is shown also by Aristo of Chios in his remark that 'much practice and much fighting' is demanded by the struggle both against pleasure and against the affections (frag. 370 A). It is matter for regret that nothing now remains of the work of Herillus, who, like Dionysius Metathemenus, wrote *περὶ ἀσκήσεως* (Diog. Laert. vii. 166 f. [Diels, 410 f. A]), especially as he deemed *ἐπιστήμη* to be the supreme good. A further proof of the fact that the value of 'practice' in the sphere of virtue was ever more and more highly appraised by the Stoics, appears in their doctrine that many (apparent) evils are allotted to man for the purpose of calling his moral energies into exercise, and may therefore be utilized for his welfare in whatsoever degree he may choose. This idea was already mooted by Chrysippus, but it was especially in the later (though probably also in the middle) period of Stoicism that it became fruitful.

The early Stoics undoubtedly felt that the will has an important place in the acquirement of virtue, but they gave the thought neither clear articulation nor adequate recognition. An advance in this respect was made during the middle period. Thus Panætius, whose ethical teaching was unquestionably influenced by Aristotle, draws a distinction between a 'theoretical' and a 'practical' virtue, and holds that the latter, requiring, as it does, a correlative action, is attainable only by practice.* Discipline of the body is also necessary (Cicero, *de Offic.* i. 23, 79). The practical virtue, which concerns the individual, is *σωφροσύνη*, consisting in the unconstrained submission of the lower faculties to the reason. The most important of the four categories of *σωφροσύνη* is *ἐγκράτεια*, the virtue whose significance was first fully realized by Antisthenes, and afterwards very specially by Aristotle. Posidonius likewise distinguishes the two aspects of virtue. Inasmuch as practical virtue consists in the subordination of the irrational to the rational part of the soul, especially in the repression of the bodily impulses and passions, it is to be acquired, Posidonius believes, only by means of practice and habit, which must carry out the process of subjugating impulse begun by education. But this point of view, which at first sight is hardly distinguishable from that of Panætius, or even that of Aristotle, is in the case of Posidonius most intimately related to a mystical Platonic conception of the nature and destiny of the human soul: the soul is a part of the Divine *πνεῦμα*, and, coming down from the heavenly to the earthly sphere, enters the body which is its prison, and which seduces and defiles it with desires. To preserve this divinely begotten soul, this *δαίμων*, from earthly guilt and defilement, and by means of a virtuous life to effect its return to its celestial home, the Æther, where alone full knowledge can be its portion—such is the aim of all truly wise and great men. The influence of Plato is here quite unmistakable, though Posidonius was doubtless congenitally inclined to the idealistic point of view.

It was in later Stoicism, however, that the importance of practice in virtue, as in moral life and endeavour generally, first gained full and adequate recognition. Seneca, it is true, emphasizes this particular aspect in an incidental way at best, but this was due not so much to any lack of insight on his part, as to the defects and the weaknesses of his own character. He nevertheless makes many most apposite observations on

the point in question.* Moreover, influenced as he was by the strong Platonizing bent of Posidonius, Seneca also manifests an ascetic mystical tendency which in the main takes the form of contempt for the body, the body being regarded as but a fetter upon the Divine soul, which amid her sombre, insecure, changeful, earthly existence longs for her Divine home, where every mystery of heaven and of nature shall be made plain.†

The idea of moral *ἀσκήσις* assumes a new character in the hands of the two representatives of later Stoicism who deal seriously with moral problems and the improvement of their fellow-men, viz. Musonius and Epictetus. Of the dissertation *περὶ ἀσκήσεως* of Musonius a fairly large fragment has been preserved (frag. vi. H). He follows Panætius in drawing a distinction between theoretical and practical virtue. The practical, which he regards as the more important (p. 23, 14 ff. H), is to be attained only by practice of a twofold kind: one, as applied to body and mind together, the other, as applied to mind alone (p. 25, 4 ff.)—a distinction already made by the Cynic Diogenes. Exercise directed upon both body and mind produces *ἀνδρεία* and *σωφροσύνη*, whereas the purely mental exercise consists in those 'thought-actions' (*Denkhandlungen*, as Eucken calls them) which determine both our mental attitude and our conduct (cf. especially p. 25, 4 ff., Hense).

Frag. v., the thesis of which is *ὅτι ἰσχυρότερον ἔθος ἢ λόγος*, and frag. vii., *ὅτι πόνον καταφρονεῖν*, are also significant passages; cf. also p. 7, 20 ff.; p. 10, 18; p. 11, 17; p. 29, 7 f. The ascetic views of Musonius in regard to sexual relations, as set forth in frag. xii., *περὶ ἀφροδισίων*, are likewise worthy of note; see, e.g., p. 64, 1 ff.: *μόνα μὲν ἀφροδισία νομίζειν δίκαια τὰ ἐν γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ γενέσει παίδων συντελούμενα, ὅτι καὶ νόμιμά ἐστιν· τὰ δὲ γε ἥδονην θηρώμενα φιλήν ἀδίκαια καὶ παράνομα, κἂν ἐν γάμῳ ᾖ*. The student is recommended to read the whole fragment.

The moment of ethical *ἀσκήσις*, however, reached its highest development in the Phrygian freedman Epictetus, in whose hands the idea of 'asceticism' became fully spiritualized, representing, in fact, the unrelenting endeavour of the individual soul towards its own moral perfection. Of a multitude of relevant passages we note only the more important.‡

That which was openly taught and practised by Epictetus was put to the proof in private by Marcus Aurelius, the last Roman who sat upon the throne of the Cæsars.§ Amid the tumult of the world's capital, or by night in his lonely tent at Carnuntum, Aurelius laboured ceaselessly in the depths of his heart towards the purifying and perfecting of his soul. He is never able to satisfy himself, but never falters in his effort to come nearer and nearer to the ideal (pp. 127, 14 ff.; 131, 18 ff.), and throws himself bravely into the conflict between soul and sense (pp. 59, 13 ff.; 91, 9 ff.; 131, 12 ff.; 162, 4 ff.). But apart from other profound differences between Aurelius and Epictetus, though both were Stoics, they were fundamentally unlike in their spiritual outlook. Thus, while Epictetus, alike in thought and action, is wholly concerned with the present world—in the best sense, certainly—the mind of the Emperor tends rather to brood darkly upon the shortness of life and the transitoriness of earthly things (e.g. ii. 17, vii. 3). He despises the goods of this world (iv. 48), even fame, and often all but grows weary of life itself (p. 115, 9 ff.). His aphoristic utterances seem to be haunted by the pathos of life and the yearn-

* e.g. *Epp.* 16, 1 ff.; 18, 5 ff.; 75, 7 ff.; 82, 16; 90, 46; 94, 47; 95, 45 and 57. In *Ep.* 6, 4 he deprecates the extravagances of Cynic asceticism.

† *Quæst. Nat. proleg.* § 81; *ad Marciam*, 23, 1 f.; 24, 5, 25; *Epp.* 65, 16 ff.; 102, 23 ff.

‡ e.g. *Dissert.* ii. 9, 13 f., ii. 18, iii. 3, iii. 12, iv. 1, 111; cf. also i. 2, 30-32. With regard to the attitude of Epictetus towards corporeal asceticism, see iii. 12, 16 f.

§ Cf. e.g. *εἰς ἐαυτόν*, ii. 1; also i. 9, p. 4, 5 ff., ed. Stich, i. 15 (p. 5, 21 ff.), i. 16 (p. 9, 6 ff.).

* Cicero, *de Offic.* i. 18, 80; Schmekel, *Phil. d. mitt. Stoa.* 216 ff.

ing for death.* He certainly has no belief in a future life, but his eye turns away from earth and from human effort, and is directed toward the All and the Eternal.† Though he is an adherent of the monistic philosophy characteristic of the Stoa—a philosophy, however, not consistently maintained by Aurelius, any more than by Seneca and Epictetus—yet the fundamental qualities of his great soul have an admixture of the spirit of renunciation and mysticism. Leaving his anthropology out of account, we see this most unmistakably in his conception of the Deity.

7. Neo-Cynicism.—Of an entirely different nature from the view of life entertained by Aurelius, is that of the Neo-Cynics, for whose teachings there was a lively interest, and even a certain sympathy, among the later Stoics, such as Musonius, Seneca, and Epictetus. The representatives of this Neo-Cynic tendency revive the asceticism of Diogenes and Crates, and, while laying the main emphasis upon the actual practice of asceticism, they contribute nothing whatever in the way of fresh thought. For fuller information see art. NEO-CYNICISM.

8. Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism.—The tendency towards renunciation of the world, which forms the basal element in the temperament of Marcus Aurelius, was not due to the spirit of Stoicism, but was rather a product of the time, and, one may well suppose, of his own experiences and fortunes. It was, however, organically related to the philosophy of the Neo-Pythagoreans—that singular group which emerged in the earlier half of the first cent. B.C., perhaps in Alexandria. No doubt the greater part of the literature of this school is pseudepigraphic, and we know by name only a few of its adherents. Apart from P. Nigidius Figulus and Vatinius, contemporaries of Cicero, and Sotion the friend of the Sextians, the most important representatives known to us are Apollonius of Tyana and Moderatus of Gades (1st cent. A.D.), Nicomachus and Numenius (2nd cent. A.D.), and Philostratus (3rd cent. A.D.).

The moral and religious view of life promulgated by the Neo-Pythagoreans is in part traceable to the Mysteries of the ancient school, but in a still greater degree to Platonism, especially to that form of Platonism set forth by Posidonius in his commentary to the *Timæus*. The characteristic of the sect is absolute dualism: God and the world, soul and body. Spirit is the principle of good (the Deity being conceived as pure Spirit, and regarded as utterly transcendent), while the body, like matter in general, is the principle of evil. Between the two stands the Demiurge, or world-former, and the demons, whose kingdom lies in the sphere between the earth and the moon. The soul, which is formed of the Divine essence, is meanwhile confined within the body as in a prison, and her deliverance from the body and its impulses, in order that she may become worthy of communion with the Deity, is the most urgent task of mankind—a task which finds its positive side in a holy and devout life, since the Supreme can be worshipped in a truly spiritual manner only with purity of thought and piety of conduct (cf. the fragment of Apollonius in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* iv. 13). Mankind is exposed on all sides, however, to contamination by demons, and the means employed to cleanse from this defilement is asceticism. The most effective forms of asceticism are certain specific ablutions and expiatory ceremonies, abstinence from certain kinds of food, more particularly from flesh and wine (among the later Neo-Pythagoreans), sexual temperance, or even abstinence (as is said to have been counselled by Apollonius), silence on the part of neophytes, etc.

But as man is of himself unable to realize this end, and since between him and the supramundane God-head there yawns a great gulf which requires to be bridged, the Deity reveals His will through the agency of specially gifted individuals, such as Pythagoras formerly, and now Apollonius, as also in the art of divination, in order that man may be helped in his dark endeavour to reach his heavenly home and the deification of his being.

Sources for our knowledge of Neo-Pythagoreanism are the account of Alexander Polyhistor in Diog. Laert. viii. 22 ff., the large fragments of pseudonymous literature written under the name of the old Pythagoreans (particulars in Zeller), the fragments of Numenius, Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii*, and the *Lives of Pythagoras* by Porphyry and Iamblichus.

In Neo-Pythagoreanism the mysteries of the older school are resuscitated in a spiritualized and morally nobler form. The real significance of the later development, however, lies in the fact that, in conjunction with Philo, it prepares the way for the last great system of ancient philosophy, viz. the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus. It was the aim of Plotinus to get beyond the dualism of Neo-Pythagoreanism on both metaphysical and ethical principles. In his nobly planned and profoundly excogitated system the whole world stands forth as an emanation from the Deity, who is supersensual, supramundane, and exalted above oppositions, even that between spirit and body. He is Pure Being, the Absolute, and from Him issues the world in a series of gradations, returning again to Him in a similar way. The principal stages of this emanation are three in number, viz., Spirit, Soul, and Matter. Just as light eventually fatigues the eye, and its radiance is changed to darkness, so does the final irradiation of the ineffable and inscrutable Essence, having traversed the intermediate stages of Spirit and Soul, become Matter (*Enneads*, iv. 3, 9), which, however, never attains the metaphysical independence that belongs to the Absolute. Matter is the *μη ὄν*, and, as the *ἀνουσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*, the *πρώτον κακόν*. Man, too, is an effluence from the Absolute, and in the human soul are distinguished a supersensual or Divine, and a lower or sensual part. Just as pure spirit in its final expression becomes matter, so the human soul with equal necessity is metamorphosed into body. The supersensual part, which was pre-existent (iv. 3. 12, vi. 4. 14) and in union with God, has suffered disaster from having entered the body (iv. 3. 15 ff., v. 1. 1). From the union of soul and body springs all the irrationality and depravity of the soul. Our great task, therefore, is the 'extinction of everything that binds us to sensuous existence,' the complete withdrawal of the soul from the outer world to its own inner life. Hence, virtue is neither more nor less than the work of 'purifying' the supersensual soul from all its relations with the world of sense (especially i. 2. 3, i. 6. 6, v. 3. 9). It accords with all this that Plotinus should set no value upon taking part in earthly affairs, either of a scientific or a politico-ethical nature. This complete detachment of the soul from all ties with the external world, however, appears on the positive side as its surrender to the Supersensual, to the Deity, the yearning for whom becomes ever more intense as the bonds of sense are more and more transcended. So far as union with the Divine is concerned, the external mode of life is of no importance. What counts is, in the opinion of Plotinus, not action, but feeling; and accordingly he attributes no value to asceticism of the common sort, however it may have consorted with his own inclinations (Zeller, iii. 522 f.). Of greater importance is the thinking consideration of life, and, still more, pure intuition; but the full and blessed union is vouchsafed only to

* Pp. 24, 19 ff.; 54, 6 ff.; 62, 5; 91, 19 ff.; 116, 4 ff.

† Pp. 21, 17 ff.; 66, 19 ff.; 166, 3 ff.

the elect in the form of *ecstasy*, which is not to be won by force, but must be calmly waited for, if haply it may come over us. In the state of ecstasy, however, man not only forgets all his earthly limitations, but loses self-consciousness altogether, and all that remains is the blessed feeling of union with the Divine.

This withdrawal from the world of sense, however, is not without its positive complement. In the beauty of the external world and in all its varied phenomena, Plotinus, like Plato, discerns the shimmering of the eternal ideas. In man sensuous beauty awakes *êpws*, the love of the Good (cf. esp. i. 6) arouses the desire of the supersensual soul for its source. For the Absolute is likewise the absolutely Good.

This sketch lets us see that the ascetic tendency in the life of ancient Greece is of much more importance than is usually supposed. We are now in a position to distinguish two different kinds of asceticism: (1) the Orphic-Pythagorean-Platonic, or the religio-mystical; and (2) the Cynic-Stoic, or ethico-volitional. It is true, indeed, that the ascetic view of life, in the sense which we attach to the term, was always confined to narrow circles in the Greek world; nevertheless, as a consequence of its being embraced, deepened, and spiritualized by two of the greatest thinkers of Greece, Plato and Plotinus, its influence has been enormous. Of no less importance, however, than the asceticism of the religio-mystical type has been what we have called the ethico-volitional, which discovered, and to some extent developed, the significance of the will in morals. Both of these tendencies, which, moreover, were in some degree combined in Posidonius, exercised a profound influence upon early Christian thought.

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The present writer has in preparation (1908) a monograph, *Die Askese im griechischen Altertum*, which will also take account of the Sextians, the Essenes, Philo, and, in particular, early Christianity.

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ASCETICISM (Hindu).—In India ascetic practices have been very widely prevalent from the earliest times. The mortification of the body, and the self-inflicted penances associated therewith, have been habitually carried to lengths beyond anything familiar to other peoples. Tradition and legend have united to glorify the ascetic, whether human or Divine; religion, as elsewhere, has sanctioned and encouraged his devotion; and the highest rewards of place and power have been within his reach, if only his austerities have taken a form sufficiently protracted and severe. Eastern patience, self-abnegation, and resolution are seen in their strangest guise, in submission to extreme conditions of self-torture and distress. The profession of the ascetic has always been held in the highest esteem, and his claim to support at the public charge by gifts and alms universally allowed. If it is his merit to practise, it is the merit of others to give to him, that his simple wants may never lack supply. And thus on both sides asceticism ministered to spiritual profit, to the actual and personal gain of the ascetic himself, both present and prospective, and to the store of credit which by his generosity the householder trusted to accumulate for himself, so as to win a higher position and birth in the next existence. Part of the secret of the hold which the ascetic ideal has maintained on the Indian mind lies in the fact that, according to the teaching of their sacred books, benefit accrues also to the donor who forwards the holy man on his way with gifts of money or food, or ministers in any way to his personal needs.

The thought that essentially underlies the Indian conception of asceticism, and prompts the adoption of the ascetic life, is the desire to escape from the *samsāra*, the never-ending cycle or round of successive existences, in which all created beings are involved, and which brings in its train the suffering and misery to which all such beings are subject. Asceticism offers a means of escape from an otherwise hopeless procession, without beginning and without end. And there is therefore little marvel if to a people whose theory of life was essentially pessimistic present hardship and suffering voluntarily endured were welcome when they brought with them the promise of future deliverance.

1. Meaning and history of the Indian term 'tapas'.—The Hindu and Sanskrit term is *tapas*, from the root *tap*, 'to be hot', 'to burn' (cf. Lat. *tep-eo*, *tep-or*, Gr. *τέφ-ω*, 'ashes' [*Iliad*, xviii. 25, xxiii. 251], Old Germ. *damf*). *Tapas* signifies therefore in the first instance 'warmth', or 'heat'; then the feelings or sensations, usually painful, experienced in consequence of heat; and thus pain or suffering in general, especially the pain which is voluntary and self-inflicted from a religious motive. The term therefore came to be applied in particular to religious penance, austerity, devotion, and to connote the merit which such devotion was supposed to assure. This was the paramount and ordinary significance of the word. But it was also used, by analogy, for the special duty or 'merit' of each of the four castes of Manu,* or again, in a limited and

* Manu, xi. 235 f.: 'All the bliss of gods and men is declared by the sages to whom the Veda was revealed to have *tapas* for its root, *tapas* for its centre, *tapas* for its end. Knowledge is the *tapas* of a Brāhmana, protection the *tapas* of a Kṣatriya, his daily business the *tapas* of a Vaiśya, service the *tapas* of a Śūdra.'

technical sense, of the special season of the year (the month *Māgha*, Jan.-Feb.) to which the practice of religious austerities was more peculiarly appropriate. Other terms of less frequent occurrence were *tapasyam* and *tapasyā*.

The Greek writers, in their references to ancient India, make frequent mention of philosophers or ascetics, whose characteristic practices repeat themselves in every part of the country at the present day. Strabo, for example (Gk. xv, ch. i.), quoting from Megasthenes, describes two sects of the philosophers whom he calls Brāhmanes and Garmans,* who abstain from meat and from sexual indulgence, and live in groves without the city.† It is not always easy to determine whether he is referring to Hindu or to Buddhist mendicants; probably there was little difference at that period in the habits or dress of the monks and ascetics of either faith, and to a Greek eye they were indistinguishable. Elsewhere he writes of the Garmans (Sarmanes) that the most honourable of them were known as Hylobioi; who lived on wild fruits and leaves, clothed themselves in garments made of bark, and abstained from wine and sexual indulgence.‡ Two of the Brāhman *σοφισταί* were seen in Taxila, of whom the elder was clean-shaven, while the other wore his hair long, and both were attended by disciples; they were provided with food without cost, and exhibited their powers of endurance by standing for a whole day on one leg, or lying on the ground exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather.¶ Others were seen standing immovable in one position during the day, naked and exposed to the almost intolerable heat of the sun. The elder of the two ascetics above referred to accompanied Alexander to Persia, and there abandoned his ascetic practices, giving as his reason that he had completed the forty years' term which he had prescribed for himself. Another, who followed in the train of the king, was named Kalanua. He perished by a voluntary death by fire at Pasargada, at the age of seventy-three; with reference to this act Megasthenes is quoted to the effect that self-destruction was not a rule with the Indian philosophers, and that those who thus acted were regarded as rash and headstrong (*νεανισκοί*, *ib.* xv. 68).

Other philosophers bore the name 'Pramnai' (Πράμναι, probably a corruption again of *śramaṇa*, *samaṇa*), and were opposed to the Brāhmanes. These the author distinguishes, some as living on the hills or plains, others as frequenting the cities. Others, again, were known as Γυμνῆται, and were therefore probably Jains, of the Digambara sect; they lived mostly under the open sky, and practised austerities for thirty-seven years.¶ Reference is made later to the Indian embassy to Augustus, and the Brāhman or perhaps Buddhist ascetic who accompanied it, and burned himself on the funeral pyre at Athens in the presence of the Emperor and the people. His name is said to have been inscribed on his tomb: 'Zarmanochegas, an Indian from Bactria ... lies here.'** Elsewhere the name appears as Zarmanus.††

2. 'Tapas' in Indian literature.—(1) *Rigveda*.—In the earliest Sanskrit literature, the Hymns of the *Rigveda*, neither the word *tapas* nor the conception and thought that underlies it is of frequent occurrence. It would not, however, be a legitimate inference from this fact that ascetic habits were unknown to the primitive Aryan communities. Nevertheless, the absence or rarity of reference does suggest that, together with much else which belonged to the lower side of the religious life, the

* Βραχμᾶνες and Γαρμᾶνες, the latter name probably a textual error for Σαρμᾶνες, the Pali and Buddhist *samaṇa*, Skr. *śramaṇa*, *śramaṇera*, 'hearer', 'disciple'.

† διατρίβειν . . . ἐν ἀλσις πρὸς τῆς πόλεως, ὑπὸ περιβόλῳ συμμέτρῳ, λιτὰς ζωτὰς ἐν στιβάσι καὶ δοραῖς, ἀπέχομένους ἐμψύχων καὶ ἀφροδισίων (Strabo, xv. 69).

‡ ὑλοβίοι, 'dwellers in the forest,' i.e. Skr. *vānaprastha*.

§ ζωτὰς ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀπὸ φύλλων καὶ καρπῶν ἀγρίων, ἐσθλῆτας δὲ ἔχειν ἀπὸ φύλων δένδρων, ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς καὶ οἶνου (*ib.* xv. 60).

¶ τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξυρημένον, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον κομήτην, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἀκαλοῦσθαι μαθητὰς· τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλαν χρόνον κατ' ἀγορὰν διατρίβειν, τιμωμένους ἀντὶ συμβούλων, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ βαλλώμενοι τὸν ὥρινον φέρουσιν δωρεάν . . . τοῦ τε μέλιτος πολλοῦ προκεκμενέας καὶ τοῦ σπασίου μάζας ποιομένους τρέφουσιν δωρεάν . . . τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον, περὶ οὐκ ὕπνου, ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν ἡλίων καὶ τῶν ὀμβρῶν· ἥδη γὰρ οὐκ ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος. Τὸν δὲ εὐτάτα μονασκεῖν, ἔξωθεν ἐπλημένον ἀμφοτέροις ταῖς χερσίν, ὅσον τριπλῆ· κἀμνοντο δὲ τοῦ σκέλους, ἐπὶ θάλαρον μεταφέρειν τὴν βάσιν, καὶ διατελεῖν οὕτως τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην· φαίνεται δὲ ἐγκατεστέρων κακρῶ τὸν νεώτερον (*ib.* xv. 61).

¶ τοὺς δὲ Γυμνήτας κατὰ τοῖονμα γυμνοὺς διαστῆναι, ὑπαίθριους τὸ πλεον, καρτερῶς ἀκούοντας, ἢν ἔδραμεν πρότερον μεχρὶ ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα (*ib.* xv. 70).

** Ζαρμανοχίγης Ἰνδὸς ἀπὸ Βαργόσης κατὰ τὰ πάτρια Ἰνδῶν ἐθῶν ἀντὶ ἀθανάτητος κτείται. Zarmanochegas is probably the Sanskrit *śramaṇaśāhārya*, a mendicant teacher, and Bactria is Bharhata, or Branch, at the mouth of the Narbada river.

†† The passages from the ancient classical authors referring to the Indian ascetics, and especially to the examples quoted of self-immolation, are translated in J. W. McGrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, 1896, pp. 386-392; and in the same writer's *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 1901, pp. 65 ff., 73 ff., 113, 167 ff., 176, 181 ff., 212 f.

practice of *tapas* also was, in great part at least, adopted from the aboriginal or other tribes among whom the new-comers settled. Theirs was the darker, gloomier view of religion and of life, to which austerity was congenial. To the bright, joyous spirit of the Aryans—the spirit that finds expression in the Hymns—the sad and despairing outlook which is the motive-power and inspiration of ascetic practice was repugnant. To them the gods were open-handed, and did not need to be forced or cajoled by human suffering; and life was not yet clouded by the pessimistic tendencies of a later age. It is noticeable that all the instances quoted from the *Rigveda* of the use of *tapas* in its technical sense are taken from the late tenth book, where the word is found both in the literal meaning of 'warmth', 'glow' (e.g. x. 16. 4), and metaphorically of the glow of feeling, passion (e.g. x. 83. 2). *Tapas*, however, is also pain, suffering, voluntarily endured (*ib.* 109. 4, 154. 2, 167. 1). So also the root *tap*, which is met with in the earlier books with the significance of 'burn' (viii. 102. 16), or transitively to 'heat', 'make hot' (iii. 53. 14, iv. 2. 6), to 'consume by fire', 'destroy' (iii. 18. 2), assumes in the tenth book the connotation of remorse, the heat or pain which is within, self-originated in the heart (*tatāpa*, impers. x. 34. 11, cf. *ib.* 34. 10, 95. 17). Similarly, also in the same book, we find *tapasvat*, 'practising asceticism' (154. 4); *tapoja*, 'born through penance' (154. 5).*

The purpose and subject-matter of the *Sāma-veda* and *Yajurveda* almost preclude a reference to *tapas*; and the nature of the magical devices and charms, the incantations of the *Atharvaveda*, aims rather at inflicting harm upon another, or securing personal immunity, than at exhibiting endurance or attaining the desired end by actual self-inflicted tortures.†

Of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature the same is true as of the later mantra and ritual writings, that there was little occasion for reference to *tapas*. Such literature is concerned almost entirely with the order and interpretation of the sacrifice, with mythology, cosmology, and so forth. The practice of *tapas*, however, is recognized, and is enjoined, e.g. *Śatap. Brāhm.* x. 4. 4. 4: 'let him who knows this by all means practise austerities; for, indeed, when he who knows this practises austerities, . . . every part of him will share in the world of heaven.'‡ The world is conquered by *tapas* (iii. 4. 4. 27; cf. xiii. 7. 1. 1).§

(2) *Upaniṣads*.—In the *Upaniṣads*, on the contrary, the theory and the duty of *tapas* are completely assumed; and even where its efficacy is denied, or only partially and grudgingly conceded, the existence and wide-spread influence of ascetic ideals are taken for granted, though the writers claim that there is a better way by which to reach the supreme goal. In the oldest strata of the *Upaniṣad* literature the ascetic calling is an obligation to be undertaken at a special stage or period of life; and their greatest teacher, Yājñavalkya, proposes thus to abandon home and possessions, and, retiring to the forest, in the practice of austerities to sever actually and ideally every tie that binds to earthly existence. In complete harmony, however, with the spirit of these writings, *tapas* is depreciated in comparison with knowledge as an inferior, secondary way to the highest bliss, to *Brāhman*.

* In one Hymn, x. 83. 2, *tapas* is invoked, together with *manu*, to protect the worshipper and overthrow his foes.

† A confirmation of the view that the conception of *tapas* was strange to the earliest Aryan thought, and was adopted from without and became familiar only at a later period, is perhaps afforded by *Rigveda*, vii. 59. 8: 'kill him with your hottest bolt,' *tapisthena hanmana*, where *Atharvaveda*, vii. 77. 2, and *Taitt. Samh.* iv. 3. 13. 3, substitute for the last word *tapasā*, 'with your hottest penance,' an expression quite in harmony with the later thought of the overwhelming magical power of *tapas*.

‡ *SBE* xiii. 362.

§ *SBE* xxvi. 111.

The representation, however, as might be expected, is not always consistent. In addition to the view most usually adopted, which sees in *tapas* a real, though less commendable and direct, means to the attainment of a knowledge of *Brahman*, the two extremes are met with of those who declare the practice of austerities indispensable to such knowledge, and those who refuse to acknowledge in asceticism any virtue or efficacy whatsoever, and maintain that only in the way of knowledge and by no other means may the final end be reached. Elsewhere asceticism and the study of the *Veda* are placed side by side as the essential conditions of a true insight; and those who in the right spirit with faith practise asceticism in the forest ascend on the way of the gods.

Tapas also is indefinitely associated in the *Upaniṣads* with the third *āśrama* (*g.v.*), and the life of the anchorite in the forest (*vānaprastha*). On him the practice of asceticism is especially obligatory, but even he must add to it faith, or the mere outward observance and self-mortification will be in vain. Only gradually, and not quite clearly or definitely, within the *Upaniṣad* period was a distinction drawn between the third and a fourth higher stage, the essential note of which was not mere bodily self-mortification, but the voluntary and entire surrender of all worldly possessions, and the concentration of thought and affection on the Supreme. This last stage is identified with a real knowledge of *Brahman*. He who 'knows' has passed beyond the (three) *āśramas* (*atyāśramin*, *Svet.* vi. 21), and *tapas* is no longer in the least degree necessary or profitable to him, for that which the ascetic painfully strives to win he has already attained. Thus the theory of the *āśramas*, and with it the doctrine of *tapas*, takes on in the *Upaniṣad* literature a distinctly ethical colouring. It is only, however, in the later treatises that the separation between the two last stages, the *vānaprastha* and the *sannyāsin*, is completely carried out, and the duties and obligations of each clearly defined.

(3) *Manu and the Law-Books*.—It is in the *Law-Book of Manu*, ch. vi., that the formal conditions and rules of the ascetic life are set forth; and these are in large part repeated, quoted, or amplified in the later *Dharmasūtras*. How far some of the more strict and exacting of these regulations ever became matters of literal observance, or how far they represented merely abstract or conventional ideals, must, of course, remain uncertain. But, in view of the capacity which Indian ascetics have always exhibited for almost heroic endurance of self-mortification, it would seem by no means impossible, or even improbable, that in some instances at least the utmost extremes of bodily torture were submitted to, and the rules of the books carried out in fullest detail. It will be noticed that Manu confines the rights and privileges of an ascetic life to the twice-born.

'A twice-born *Snātaka*, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may . . . go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses. Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots, and fruit. Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning; and let him always wear (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unclipped). . . . Let him be always industrious in privately reciting the *Veda*; let him be patient of hardships . . . ever liberal . . . and compassionate towards all living creatures.*

Then follow directions with regard to the sacrifices the ascetic must offer, and the kind and quantity of food he may eat.

'In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, gradually increasing his austerities.

* *Manu*, vi. 1-8 (*SEE* xxv. 198 ff.).

When he bathes at the three *Savanas* (sunrise, noon, and sunset) let him offer libations of water to the manes and the gods, and, practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame . . . let him live without a fire, without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit . . . chaats, sleeping on the bare ground, dwelling at the roots of trees.* 'Having thus passed the third part of life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachment to worldly objects . . . after offering sacrifices and subduing his senses . . . an ascetic gains bliss after death.'† 'Departing from his house . . . let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered. Let him always wander alone without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation) . . . He shall neither possess a fire nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food, indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating and concentrating his mind on *Brahman*. A potsherd (for an almsbowl), the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments, life in solitude and indifference towards everything, are the marks of one who has attained liberation. Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live, let him wait for his time, as a servant for the payment of his wages . . . let him patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody, let him not become anybody's enemy for the sake of this body . . . entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in this world, desiring the bliss (of final emancipation).‡ 'Carrying an almsbowl, a staff, and a water-pot, let him continually wander about, controlling himself and not hurting any creature. . . . A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen dish or one made of split cane, Manu, the son of *Ṣvayambhu*, has declared to be vessels (suitable) for an ascetic.'§

Rules are then given for begging and the manner of eating, subjects of meditation, etc. The ascetic is to beg only once in the day, and when he goes to any house for that purpose it must be after the ordinary meal of the household has been concluded (*cf. Baudh.* ii. 22; *Vas.* x. 7, 8).

'Three suppressions of the breath even, performed according to the rule, and accompanied with the (recitation of the) *Vyāhrtis* || and of the syllable "Om," one must know to be the highest austerity for every *Brāhmaṇa*.¶ 'When by the disposition (of his heart) he becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death. He who has in this manner gradually given up all attachments, and is freed from all the pairs (of opposites), reposes in *Brahman* alone . . . a twice-born man who becomes an ascetic . . . shakes off sin here below, and reaches the highest *Brāhmaṇa*.**

Elsewhere in the *sūtras* of Manu, in the other books, there are incidental references to the ascetics, which lay down further rules for their conduct and life.

Ascetics and students are to receive alms from the *Brāhmaṇa* householder after the performance of the Bali offering (*iii.* 94; *cf. vi.* 7; and *Baudh.* ii. 5, 11; *Vas.* xi. 5; *Āpast.* ii. 4, 10, 11).

The purification ordained . . . shall be 'double for students, treble for hermits, but quadruple for ascetics' (*v.* 137; *cf. Viṣṇu*, ix. 26; *Vas.* vi. 19).

The ascetic is not admissible as a witness in the law-courts (*viii.* 65; *cf. Baudh.* i. 19, 13; *Viṣṇu*, viii. 2).

For secret converse with female ascetics a small fine is payable (*viii.* 363; *cf. Viṣṇu*, xxxvi. 7, and the statement (*ib.* xcix. 14) that the deity himself resides 'in the frame of gods, ascetics, and officiating priests').

'An ascetic, a hermit in the forest, and *Brāhmaṇas* who are students of the *Veda* shall not be made to pay toll at a ferry' (*viii.* 407; *cf. Viṣṇu*, v. 132).

'Hermits (*tāpasīh*, i.e. those who practise *tapas*), ascetics (*yatis*, those whose passions are under control), *Brāhmaṇas*, the crowds of the *Vaimānika* deities, the lunar mansions, and the *Daityas* are the first (i.e. lowest) order of existence caused by Goodness' (*sattva*, xii. 48).

Additional details in the *Law-Books* are to the effect that a householder must turn back if he meets an ascetic (*Viṣṇu*, lxiii. 36). 'An apostate from religious mendicacy shall become the king's slave' (*ib.* v. 152). *Cf. Gautama*, iii. (*SBE* ii. 2 192-196); *Baudhāyana*, ii. 11. 14-26, 17. 16, 17. iii. 3; 'eight mouthfuls are the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit in the woods, thirty-two that of a householder, and an unlimited (quantity) that of a student' (*Baudh.* ii. 13. 7; *cf. Vas.* vi. 20); 'let him (the hermit) not injure even gaddies or gnats, let him bear cold and perform austerities, let him con-

* *Manu*, vi. 23-26; *cf. Viṣṇu*, xcv. 1-4. Chs. xcv.-xcvii. of the *Institutes of Viṣṇu* are devoted to the exposition of the method of life and the duties of the ascetic, and the subjects of his meditation; the whole is closely related to the corresponding passages of Manu.

† *Manu*, vi. 33, 34.

‡ *ib.* 41-49.

§ *ib.* 52-54.

|| i.e. the three mystic syllables *bhūr*, *bhuvah*, *svah* (*cf.* ii. 76, 78, 81); the virtue of their recitation, with suppressions of the breath is so great that it frees from the guilt of the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 249).

¶ *Manu*, vi. 70.

** *ib.* 80-86.

stantly reside in the forest, be contented, and delight in (dresses made of) bark and skins (and in carrying) water (in his pot)' (*Baudh.* iii. 3. 19; *Vas.* ix. x. [SBE xiv. 45-49]). 'The qualities by which a (true) Brāhmana may be recognized are the concentration of the mind, austerities, the subjugation of the senses, liberality, truthfulness, purity, sacred learning, compassion, worldly learning, intelligence, and faith' (*Vas.* vi. 23); 'he is worthy to receive gifts who . . . reduces himself by austerities' (vi. 30); 'to suppress the breath is the highest austerity' (x. 5; cf. *Āpastamba*, ii. 21. 1-21, 22, 23. 1, 2).

(4) *Bhagavad Gītā*.—The 'Song of the Blessed' represents, as is well known, a syncretism between the two views of an idealistic pantheism and the practical devotion demanded by a theistic creed, salvation by conviction and knowledge alone, or salvation through faith and works. It is a subject of dispute which of these views is the earlier in the poem, and forms the original kernel, and which has been superimposed upon the other.* In either case *tapas*, in the form of renunciation, self-devotion, is the highest form which 'action' can take; and in the thought and teaching of the writer the essence of ascetic practices is not painful mortification of the body, but the abnegation of selfish desires and the sacrifice of selfish inclination and love of ease in the cause of right and devotion to the Supreme God. Passages which enforce renunciation and the duty of earnest and purposeful action belong to the practical theistic strata of the poem. Attempts, however, to reconcile conflicting views, or at least to recognize what is good in both, are not wanting.

'There is a twofold path, that of the Sāṅkhyas by devotion in the shape of knowledge, and that of the Yogins by devotion in the shape of action. A man does not attain freedom from action merely by not engaging in action; nor does he attain perfection by mere renunciation' (*Bhag. Gītā*, iii. 3f.).

The 'ascetic' is one 'who has no aversion and no desire. . . . Children, not wise men, talk of *sāṅkhya* and *yoga* as distinct. One who pursues either well obtains the fruit of both. . . . He who, casting off attachment, performs actions dedicating them to *Brahman*, is not tainted by sin' (ib. v. 3ff.).

'Some by concentration see the self in the self by the self; others by the *Sāṅkhya-yoga*; and others still by the *Karma-yoga*; others yet, not knowing this, practise concentration after hearing from others. They too, being devoted to hearing (instruction), cross beyond death' (xiii. 24f.).

'Renunciation is devotion (*yoga*); for no one becomes a devotee (*yogin*) who has not renounced (all) fancies. . . . The devotee whose self is contented with knowledge and experience, who is unmoved, who has restrained his senses, and to whom a sod, a stone, and gold are alike, is said to be devoted. . . . He should restrain his mind, and concentrate it on me, and sit down engaged in devotion, regarding me as his final goal. Thus, constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee whose mind is restrained attains that tranquillity which culminates in final emancipation and assimilation with me. . . . When his mind well-restrained becomes steady upon the self alone, then he, being indifferent to all objects of desire, is said to be devoted. As a light standing in a windless (place) flickers not, that is declared to be the parallel for a devotee, whose mind is restrained, and who devotes himself to abstraction' (vi. 2ff.).

The indestructible seat . . . 'is entered by ascetics from whom all desires have departed' (viii. 11).

'Whatever you do . . . whatever you eat, whatever sacrifice you make, whatever you give, whatever penance you perform, do that as offered to me' (ix. 27).

'This threefold penance (i.e. bodily, vocal, and mental) practised with perfect faith . . . is called good (*sāttvikam*). . . . Whatever oblation is offered, whatever is given, whatever penance is performed, and whatever is done without faith, that . . . is called *asat* (not good), and that is nought both after death and here' (xvii. 7, 28).

'One who is self-restrained, whose understanding is unattached everywhere, from whom affections have departed, obtains the supreme perfection of freedom from action by renunciation' (xviii. 49).

'Those who, restraining the group of the senses . . . meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived . . . they, intent on the good of all beings, necessarily attain to me. . . . He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, pleasure and pain, who is free from attachments, to whom praise and blame are alike

. . . who is homeless, and of a steady mind and full of devotion, that man is dear to me' (xii. 3f., 18f.).

Similar quotations might easily be multiplied. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* the philosophic theory of asceticism, as it presented itself to the Indian mind, appears in its loftiest and purest form. To the earnest-minded *sādhu* this book is his Bible; and the nobility of its thought, and the charity and breadth of its outlook, render it not undeserving of the name.*

(5) *Epic poetry*.—The Epic poems add little to the general conception of *tapas*, although they offer many examples of its practice, and contain narratives more or less marvellous of ascetics who proved in their own experience its virtue and power (see below, p. 91^a). Rāma in his hermitage on the banks of the Godāvarī is the type of the peaceful, gentle hermit who has renounced the world, and lives retired from its strife and care, 'true to duty, true to virtue.' In the *Mahābhārata* descriptions of the hermit (*vānaprastha*) and of the ascetic (*sannyāsin*) are found, which agree almost verbally with those of Manu (*Mahābh.* xii. 191 f., 243 ff.; cf. above, p. 89). And in the same book, true and false *tapas* are distinguished from one another: 'Fasting though for a fortnight, which ordinary men count for *tapas*, is merely a castigation of the body, and is not regarded as *tapas* by the good; renunciation and humility, these are the noblest *tapas*; he who practises these virtues fasts unceasingly, and his virtue is never found wanting.' 'Study of the Veda and avoiding injury to any living being, men call bodily asceticism; the true spiritual asceticism is control of speech and thought.'[†]

In the *Purāṇas* and later literature the extravagances of ascetic practice are more prominent than its virtues. The underlying conceptions remain the same; renunciation of worldly possessions and the voluntary endurance of bodily pain are means to an end, viz. deliverance from the *samsāra* and the acquisition of supernatural powers. The essential principles, however, are overlaid with a mass of extravagant fancy and repellent detail; and the stories of the lives of the ascetics, and the descriptions of their self-inflicted tortures, present few features of attractiveness or interest.

3. Asceticism in modern practice.—The most general term for a Hindu ascetic is *sādhu*, a 'good' or 'pious' man, a saint, or sage, of which the feminine *sādhvī* denotes a woman who has taken ascetic vows. *Sannyāsin*, one who has 'cast off,' i.e. home and possessions, is also frequently used of any mendicant, though the title is more properly restricted to a particular sect (see below, p. 93 f.). *Faqir* is a Muhammadan term, expressive of poverty of spirit, but is sometimes, though incorrectly, applied to a Hindu beggar or ascetic. India has always been the home of asceticism, and from the very earliest times this feature of Indian life has attracted attention. *Sādhus* have formed the shifting itinerant element in a population for the most part stationary and rooted to the soil. In spite also of their general aloofness, by their numbers and by the respect paid to them they have always exercised a considerable influence in the land, and, in the absence of more direct methods of conveying intelligence, have formed a fairly constant though uncertain means of communication between the different parts of the country. Present everywhere, although rarely making a prolonged

* Cf. the interesting account which Dr. T. L. Pennell gives of the *sādhu* whom he overtook on the road from Ludhiana, and who recounted to him his experiences and manner of life: 'When my heart is lonely I read in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and get consolation, and I like that better than any other book because it makes my heart glad' (*Church Missionary Intelligence*, 1905, p. 518).

[†] *Mahābh.* xii. 217, 221; cf. Deussen, *Allg. Gesch. der Philo sophie*, i. 3. p. 89 ff.

* See esp. R. Garbe, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Leipzig, 1905, Einleitung; SBE, vol. viii. 3, Oxford, 1898, Introduction; and art. BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ.

stay in one place, they brought to the settled inhabitants the consciousness of an outside world, and wrought effectively, though probably unintentionally, against the narrowness of a merely local and parochial spirit. Whether the *sādhus* were more numerous in ancient times than at the present day it is difficult to determine. They occupy a larger place in the ancient than in the modern literature of India; and the same is true also in all probability of the thought of the people. They still form, however, an appreciable though small percentage of the population. At the census of 1901 the total number of beggars and religious mendicants was returned at 4,914,000, or nearly five millions, a decrease of about 6½ % during the decade preceding. The decrease, however, is attributed to the heavy mortality of the famine years, and not to any lessened attraction in the profession of sādhuism. Probably by far the greater number of these, if not all, were true ascetics, bound by vows to a life of self-renunciation and poverty.

More, also, perhaps than in any other country asceticism in India has been under the definite and strong sanction of religion. That sanction was given to the practice of *tapas* in the first instance by the example of the greatest saints and heroes of old, and of the gods themselves, who are represented as enduring self-inflicted tortures for thousands of years in order to attain supernatural or enhanced power. The *ṛsis* of old, the demigods of legend and story, the dwellers in heaven as well as on earth, engaged in the practice of *tapas* to secure dominion for themselves, or to confound their foes. The Supreme Being himself endured age-long austerities in order to create. And Siva, in the character of an austere naked *sannyāsin* practising austerities of almost unimaginable severity for thousands of years, is the type and patron of the ascetic, who by the grace of Siva and by the virtue of *tapas* hopes to attain all his desires. There was no limit to the power of self-mortification; all things were possible to *tapas*. The classical example and the most convincing to Hindu thought was found in the story of the rivalry and hostile encounters of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. The latter, a Kṣatriya and a most powerful and wealthy king, was overthrown and put to confusion at every point by the might of the Brāhman's incantations and magical devices. Humbled and beyond measure enraged, Viśvāmitra had recourse to *tapas*, and by the most severe and protracted austerities compelled the gods to grant him the birth and rights of a Brāhman, thus placing him on a level with his Brāhman adversary. The story undoubtedly represents the rivalry of the two great orders or castes, the priestly and the warrior; but it also expresses the conception of the omnipotent strength of *tapas*, which could bridge the gulf, and lift the Kṣatriya, inferior though a king, to the level of the proud and domineering Brāhman.*

On the power of *tapas* see also Manu, xi. 239 ff.: 'Whatever is hard to be traversed, whatever is hard to be attained, whatever is hard to be reached, whatever is hard to be performed, all may be accomplished by austerities; for austerity (possesses a power) which it is difficult to surpass. Both those who have committed mortal sin and all other offenders are severally freed from their guilt by means of well-performed austerities. Insects, snakes, moths, bees, birds, and beings bereft of motion reach heaven by the power of austerities. Whatever sin men commit by thoughts, words, or deeds, that they speedily burn away by penance, if they keep penance as their only riches. The gods accept the offerings of that Brāhmaṇa alone who has purified himself by austerities, and grant to him all he desires. . . . The gods, discerning that the holy origin of this world (world) is from austerity, have thus proclaimed the incomparable power

of austerity' (*SBE* xxv. 478 f.); cf. iv. 148, where *tapas* is one of the means for remembering former births, and xii. 83, where *tapas* leads to the attainment of supreme bliss; cf. also *Rigveda*, x. 1. 80, where the long-haired ascetic with semi-divine powers is able to move on the path of the Apsarases and Gandharyas (A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 134).

Hindu asceticism represented, further, a revolt from, or at least a protest against, the tyranny of caste. In its origin probably remote from Brāhmanism, and conveying the ordinary idea that bodily pain was profitable for the advancement and purification of the spirit, the ascetic life became, in association with Hinduism and under the prescriptive sanction of Hindu law itself, a refuge from the burden of caste rules and ostracisms. By the ascetic, caste, like every other institution of the mundane life, has been surpassed, and left behind. He is casteless not because he is below but because he is above caste. And this freedom from the bondage and artificial restrictions of a society elaborately fenced off and partitioned by innumerable barriers which the ordinary man might not transgress presented no inconsiderable attraction, and has been one of the secrets of the abiding popularity of the ascetic ideal and manner of life in India. The subdual of the bodily passions by mortification of the flesh, which in other countries was itself the end of asceticism, was in India only the means; the end was primarily and avowedly the attainment of magical powers, but also, perhaps in many instances only half consciously, escape from the burdens of a social life, the petty restraints and prohibitions of which had begun to be a weariness to the spirit. Over this tendency, with that wonderful compliance and dexterity of which it is so great a master, Brāhmanism threw its shield, and legalized what it could not prevent. In the doctrine of the four *āśramas* (*g.v.*) asceticism was made an integral part of the orthodox Hindu life, and it became the duty of every Hindu, as advanced age overtook him, homeless and a wanderer to chasten himself with austerities. Formally this was to be done for the sake of detaching himself from earthly ties, and of realizing union with *Brahman* (see art. YOGA). And a religious motive was thus supplied for that which in itself was a welcome release from responsibility, care, and the minute requirements of an elaborate social code.

In the first instance apparently, the right and privilege of asceticism, according to Hindu custom or law, belonged to Brāhman alone; it was then extended to all the twice-born, and finally all restrictions were removed, and admission into the ranks of the ascetics was accorded to men of every position and degree.

Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttara Kāṇḍa*, 74. 9 ff., quoted in Muir, *Orig. Sanskr. Texts*, i. 119 f.: 'Formerly in the *kṛta* age Brāhman alone practised *tapas*; none who was not a Brāhman did so in that enlightened age . . . then came the *trētā* age, . . . in which the Kṣatriyas were born, distinguished still by their former *tapas* . . . Those Brāhman and Kṣatriyas who lived in the *trētā* practised *tapas*, and the rest of mankind obedience. . . . In the *dvāpara* age *tapas* entered into the Vaiśyas. Thus in the course of three ages it entered into three castes; and in the three ages righteousness (*dharma*) was established in three castes. But the *Sūdra* does not attain to righteousness through the (three) ages . . . such observance will belong to the future race of *Sūdras* in the *kālī* age, but is unrighteous in the *extrema* if practised by that caste in the *dvāpara*.' Cf. Manu, i. 86: 'In the *kṛta* age the chief [virtue] is declared to be *tapas*.'

It is evident, however, with what reluctance the privileges and powers of the ascetic life were extended to *Sūdras* and low-caste men. At the present time there is no distinction or barrier; any one may become an ascetic, and the vows are not necessarily lifelong. Some sects, however, still restrict membership to Brāhman, or at least to men of the three higher castes.

Moreover, the distinction between the last two *āśramas*, that of the *vānaprastha*, the anchorite in the forest, corresponding to the class of the *śāśāśi*

* See J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i. 388 ff., who quotes the story in a twofold form from the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādi-parvan*, 6638 ff.), and from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Bālakāṇḍa*, 51-65); cf. the narrative of Nahusa, who by *tapas* won for himself the rank of Indra (*Mahābh.*, *Ādi-p.* 3151; Muir, *op. cit.* p. 807 ff.).

of Megasthenes (see above, p. 88*), and that of the true *sannyāsin*, the homeless wanderer, was never very clearly drawn even in theory, and was in practice entirely disregarded. Ascetic habits at least were common to both; and the dweller in the forest-hermitage, no less than the man who had 'cast off' possessions and earthly ties in favour of a vagrant life through the cities and country, endeavoured by means of *tapas* to break the fetters which bound him to an earthly existence, and to secure final rest and bliss.

(1) *Clothing and habits*.—Numerous also as were, and are, the sects of ascetics, varying in the details of costume and habit, they all possess certain broad characteristic features in common, and to the eye of the comparative stranger present a similar and specific appearance by which their profession may be recognized. All *sādhus* carry a begging-bowl, which in its simplest form consists of a hollowed-out coconut or gourd, but is sometimes of brass, figured or otherwise ornamented, and furnished with a lid or handle; a water-pot also, and usually a staff. Theoretically, and as individuals, they are without worldly possessions, but the monasteries in which many of them take up their abode during the rainy season, and for longer or shorter intervals, are often richly endowed. Such monasteries, which are very numerous all over India, owe their existence to the liberality of pious founders, and have at different times been the recipients of gifts of money or land, whereby merit has accrued to the donors, and the religious houses have in many instances become endowed with great revenues. They are not, however, in most cases, places of permanent residence, but their inmates wander through the country as *sādhus*, or ascetics, living on the alms of the people. The robes of the ascetic are ordinarily salmon-coloured, but sometimes other colours are met with, according to the sect or order to which they belong; many also go practically naked. On their bodies they rub ashes—a practice which is supposed to have been originally intended to protect the skin against the insect plagues of India, or as a defence against the hosts of the demons.* The forehead is marked with the *tilaka*, the variously shaped sign or symbol, made with coloured earths, indicating their sect or the god to whose service they have consecrated themselves; and the hair hangs down from the head, long and matted, but in other cases is formed into a rough coil at the top, or is entirely shaved off, the head being left bald. They sleep on the ground, and once or twice in the day go round to collect food and alms, for which they must not ask, but contentedly receive what is given. According to the stated rule, they must not approach a house to beg until the regular meal-time is past; what remains over is the portion of the mendicant.

Other objects usually found in the possession of a *sādhu* are a rosary, the material of which and the number of the beads vary with the different sects. Saivite rosaries are composed of the berries of the *rudrāksha* tree (*Eleocarpus ganitrus*), thirty-two or sixty-four in number; sometimes, however, such ascetics wear strings of human teeth (*dantamālā*) or the skin of a snake round their neck. Vaiṣṇavite ascetics carry a rosary of a hundred and eight beads of *tulasī* wood, the holy basil (*Ocimum sanctum*), or occasionally, though it is said rarely, of the seeds of the sacred lotus. The purpose of the rosary is for use in the recitation of prayers, or to enable the devotee to repeat the name of his god a definite number of times without error.† In all probability the Christian use of the

rosary was derived ultimately from India. Many *sādhus* will also be found with fire-tongs, the iron of which is supposed to be a protection against evil spirits, and, as they are inveterate smokers of bhang, with a pestle and mortar, and a pipe, which are brought into constant use. Many of them carry on their person small idols, or sacred objects, or talismans as the *lingam* or *sālagrāma*, relics also from the places of pilgrimage they have visited, and seals or certificates issued by the priests in charge. They are supposed to spend their lives in meditation, withdrawn from the thoughts and interests of the world. For a similar reason, because he is believed to be in *samādhi*, 'profound trance,' a state of intimate and untroubled communion with the Divine, the body of a *sannyāsin* is under ordinary circumstances buried, not burned; he is in reality not dead, and may revive at pleasure to a consciousness of external things.

(2) *Mortifications*.—The distresses and self-mortifications to which the Hindu ascetic submits himself would be almost incredible if they were not certified by the accounts of many eye-witnesses from the earliest times to the present day, and by the well-known capacity of the Eastern to endure with stoicism hardship and pain that would be intolerable or fatal to a European. Fully to enumerate and describe the various kinds of self-torture invented and practised by *sādhus* would be impracticable. Among the more usual and prominent which attract attention is the so-called 'arrow' or 'spike-bed' (*sarasaṅgyā*, *kaṇṭakaṅgyā*), a flat board studded with iron nails or spikes, on which the ascetic sits or lies at full length, and which he is supposed never to leave night or day. The practice is in imitation of the sufferings of Bhīṣma, the leader of the Kurus and chief antagonist of Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*. His body was pierced in the fight by Arjuna with so many arrows that, falling, it did not touch the ground, and Bhīṣma lay thus supported for forty-eight days and nights before his death, during which time he discoursed on high topics before the assembled armies.* A Brāhman ascetic at Benares is said to have used one of these couches, on which he lay naked, for thirty-five years.† Another common form of self-torture is to raise one or both arms above the head, and to hold them there until stiff and atrophied, when they cannot be drawn down again (*urādhvabāhu*). A man who has both arms thus extended is unable even to feed himself, and is dependent in everything on the help of others. As a further penance the hand is sometimes held closed till the nails grow through the palm. The *pañcha-tapāṃsi* penance consists in enduring the heat of four fires lighted around, with the sun overhead as a fifth; sometimes five artificial fires are employed. Difficult and distressing postures of various kinds are frequent modes of self-mortification, which are supposed to distract the thoughts from external objects (see art. YOGA), for example, standing on one foot for protracted periods (*eka-pāda*), measuring the length on the ground (*aṣṭāṅga*), and thus making slow and painful progress from one place of pilgrimage to another, or round a sacred shrine. Most *sādhus* undertake long and toilsome journeys to visit the holy places of their religion, as Badarināth in Garhwāl, or the sacred mountain Kailāsa;‡ and on the way, or at the temples themselves, suffer the greatest hardships from want and cold. Many perish by the way from these causes and from the attacks of wild beasts. Other *sādhus* undertake prolonged fastings, or place themselves under vows

The number of the beads is said to vary, or not to be very strictly observed; see J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, 1903, p. 39 f. and note.

* *Mahābh.* bk. viii.

† Monier Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism* 4, p. 560 ff.

‡ See E. S. Oakley, *Holy Himālaya*, Edin. and London, 1905.

* W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, i. 29 f.

† Monier Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism* 4, p. 671.

of silence for years. Some display their powers by chewing live coals, or their endurance by thrusting knives or skewers into their flesh, treading on beds of glowing ashes, sitting immersed to the neck in water, allowing themselves to be buried alive, or hung with the head downwards (*ūrdhvamukhi*). Tricks of self-hypnotism of a most remarkable character have been without doubt known to and practised by Indian ascetics for centuries.*

(3) *Ascetic sects*.—Hindu *sādhus* are of various types and sects, between which to the unaccustomed eye there appears to be little difference. The greater number are Saivites, but some belong to Vaiṣṇavite forms of Hinduism. Śiva, the narrative of whose austerities is found chiefly in the *Śiva*, *Skanda*, and *Linga Purāṇas*, is the chief patron god of ascetics. In this character he is represented as *digambara*, 'sky-clad,' with hair unkempt and his body smeared with ashes, sometimes sitting under a snake canopy. While practising austerities his home was in the remote fastnesses of the Himālaya range, where accordingly some of the most sacred places of Saivite pilgrimage are to be found. Most of the great teachers or reformers of Hinduism founded mendicant orders, and established monasteries, which are centres and homes of ascetic life. There are sects that trace their origin to Śaṅkarācārya, Kabīr, Rāmānuja, Rāmānanda, etc. The number of them is great, and only a few of the more prominent and important can here find mention.†

There are seven chief sects of Saivite ascetics as follows:—(1) *Danḍin*, (2) *Sannyāsīn*, (3) *Brahmachārīn*, (4) *Paramahansa*, (5) *Līngait* or *Līṅgayat*, (6) *Aghorīn*, (7) *Yogīn*. The first four are mendicant orders founded by Śaṅkarācārya, the great Brāhman teacher and expositor of the 7th or 8th cent. of our era. The *Līngait*s, or *Līṅgayat*s, are properly Śāktas, who worship the *līṅga*, or phallus, and whose founder is said to have been a Brāhman named Basava, or Basappa, of Kalyāṇa, and to have lived in the Deccan about the beginning of the 12th century. Their itinerant monks (*jaṅgamas*) are to be found all over India (see art. LĪṅGAYAT).

The subdivisions of the *Danḍīns* and *Sannyāsīns* appear to be uncertain in their limits,‡ and perhaps some of the sub-orders coincide, and are practically the same. There are said, however, to be ten classes of *Danḍīns*, whence they are known as *Daśnāmī* ('ten-named') *Danḍīns*, which derive their titles from ten disciples of Śaṅkara. The general name has been given to them from the *danḍa*, or staff, which every *Danḍīn* carries, and which they are said to worship; the various sub-orders have different kinds of staves. Membership of the sect is confined to Brāhmanas, and they are especially numerous in Benares. They wear salmon-coloured clothes, and beg only from the houses of Brāhmanas. Initiation into the order is accompanied by a kind of baptism, with fasting; the sacred thread is also taken off at this time and burned, and together with the communication of the sacred *mantram*, and the new name of the sub-order to which the candidate is to belong, there is enforced upon him the observance of chastity and poverty. *Danḍīns* avoid the use of fire, and bury their dead or cast them into a sacred stream § (see art. DANḌIN). Seven classes of *Sannyāsīns* are enumerated by Oman, together with three

* J. C. Oman, *op. cit.* chs. iii. iv. and vi.; Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom* 2, p. 104 ff.

† The list and details that follow are derived in the main from J. C. Oman's important work; see also separate articles. There are, of course, in India many men who live ascetic lives, but who are not Hindus, such as the Muhammadan faqīrs in the north, and the wandering Jain monks (see art. MUHAMMADANISM and JAINISM).

‡ See Oman, *op. cit.* p. 163.

§ Monier Williams, *op. cit.* p. 87.

which are said to belong more properly to the *Danḍīn* orders. The list is as follows:—Giri, Puri, Bhārti, Ban, Anran (Aranya), Parvat, Sagar; Tirath, Ashram, Sarasvatī. Membership of the sect is open to all, without distinction of caste; twice-born men lay aside the thread, and all join at meals. They usually wear a necklace of *rudrāksha* berries, and some, in place of the ordinary salmon-coloured robes, carry the skin of a tiger. In their food, which they accept from any Hindu, they avoid meat and do not drink spirits, but are great smokers of *ganja* (*guṇjā*), or hemp. At initiation the *guru* communicates to the novice his new name and the *mantram* of his order, and he is then expected to serve the *guru* for a time, receiving instruction from him. He has to bathe daily, and to perform daily worship with contemplation of the image of Śiva; he must not sleep on a couch or during the day-time, or converse with women, and must always go on foot, etc. At death the body is buried in a sitting posture, facing east or north-east, and no *śrāddha* ceremonies are performed, since he is supposed to have quitted this life when he entered the order* (see art. SANNYĀSIN).

The remaining sects are of less importance. *Brahmachārīn*, the name given in the old literature to a student of the Veda during his period of pupilage in the first *āśrama*, has been appropriated to a subordinate class of ascetics, who are said usually to act as servants to *Sannyāsīns* or *Paramahansas* (see art. ĀSRAMA). The *Paramahansas* are the highest order, and have an *Upaniṣad* of their own, the *Paramahansopaniṣad*. They lay claim to greater sanctity, and profess to observe stricter rules of conduct than others. Before admission to the rank of *Paramahansa*, a probation of some years, usually not less than twelve, must be undergone. In token of absolute renunciation of the world, some observe a strict vow of silence, profess to abstain entirely from food, or dispense with all clothing. Some are unquestionably men of sincere piety, and devote themselves to study and good works. The *Paramahansa* believes that he has already attained to union with the Divine, or rather has learned to know himself as identical with *Brahman*—a creed not conducive to humility or modesty. The title is said to be derived from a mythical bird, which possesses the faculty of separating water from milk; hence in a metaphorical sense is able to distinguish falsehood from truth. The word *hansa* ordinarily signifies a goose; so that the title was perhaps originally given to members of the sect in derision.†

The *Aghorīns* or *Aghorapanthīns* are *sādhus* who have acquired a strange and repulsive appetite for the flesh of corpses, and are said to steal dead bodies from the graveyards, and drag them from the rivers for purposes of food. There are probably few, if any, of these ascetics now left in India, but in times past they were more numerous, and their habits have been noted from a very early date. The home of the chief of the sect is said to be at Siddhapur, in North Kanara (see art. AGHORĪ).

Yogīn is a general term for an ascetic who is endeavouring by restraint and discipline of the body to secure the union of the soul with the Supreme (see art. YOGA). Such ascetics are usually mystics and self-hypnotists, who claim to be possessed of miraculous powers, and in some instances undoubtedly perform marvellous feats. As a sect they trace their origin to Gorakhnāth, a

* See J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies* 3, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1906, ch. xxxvi. p. 538 ff., and for an account of the initiation of a *sannyāsīn*, *ib.* p. 523 ff.

† Monier Williams, *op. cit.* p. 87; Max Müller, *Ramakrishna*, London, 1905.

disciple of Mahendranāth, of whom little or nothing is known, even the period at which he lived being uncertain. *Yogins* worship Śiva, especially in the form of Bhairon or Bhairava (*q.v.*), the village god identified with Śiva, whose sacred animal is the dog; and they pay especial veneration to the *nāths* (*nātha*), or guardian spirits of the Himalāyan peaks, and to the eighty-four *Siddhas*, or 'perfect' ones, whose practice of the *yoga* has reached perfection, some of whom are believed to be still living. They disregard caste, wear sacred rosaries of *rudrākṣa* berries, and allow themselves the utmost freedom in the matter of food and drink. There are several sub-orders, as Kanphatas, Angars, distinguished by peculiarities of dress or ornamentation.*

The ascetic sects of the Vaiṣṇavites have perhaps hardly so much right to the name of ascetics. They are rather wandering monks, whose abstinence is displayed almost entirely in the matter of food and drink. Some of them practise the rules of *yoga*, and with few exceptions all refrain from partaking of flesh or spirits. Viṣṇu is worshipped by them under the form either of Rāma or of Kṛṣṇa, with whom they usually associate their wives Sītā or Rādhā. The list of the sects is as follows, omitting the adherents of Vallabhāchārya, whose principles are the reverse of ascetic:—

NAME.	REPUTED FOUNDER.
Śrī Vaiṣṇava.	Rāmānuja.
Rāmānandin.	Rāmānanda.
Mādhava.	Mādhavāchārya.
Chaitanyite.	Chaitanya.
Kabir Panthin.	Kabir.†

The *Śrī Vaiṣṇavas*, so called because they unite the worship of Śrī or Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, with that of Viṣṇu himself, retain the sacred thread, wear reddish-coloured robes, and carry strings of *tulasī* beads or of the seeds of the lotus. In addition to the *tilaka*, or sect-mark, on the forehead, they are often stamped or branded on the body with sacred marks emblematic of the god or his wife. They are found chiefly in the south of India, where the great monasteries of the sect are established.‡

The *Rāmānandins* are followers of Rāmānanda, the disciple of Rāmānuja. His work lay rather in the north of India, and the various types of ascetics who belong to this order are numerous in most of the northern districts of the peninsula. The chief subdivision is that of the *Bairāgins* (*q.v.*) or *Vairāgins*—a title which indicates one who is free from worldly passion or desire, and is often applied generally to any Vaiṣṇavite mendicant or devotee. The *Vairāgins* proper disregard caste distinctions, though they wear the thread, eschew meat and spirits, and worship Hanuman, the monkey-god, as well as Rāma and his brothers, and Sītā, and they go through an elaborate daily routine of bathing, etc., including the practice of *yoga*; frequently also they are branded upon the arm with the sacred symbols of Viṣṇu.§ Other sub-sects of Rāmānandins are Acharins, Khakins, Sannyāsins, the last-named being distinguishable from the Saivite ascetics of the name by the use of the sacred thread. They wear robes of different colours, and the Khakins at least usually dispense altogether with clothing. All Rāmānandins are pledged to vows of celibacy (see art. RAMANANDA, RĀMĀNANDIN).

The *Mādhavas*, or *Mādhvas*, are almost entirely confined to the south of India. They live celibate lives, and admit all castes to the order. Their one garment is orange-coloured, and on

breast and arms they bear the marks of Viṣṇu, and shave the head, in this last respect being distinguished from the true Vairāgins, who leave a small tuft of hair on the crown (see art. MĀDHVAS).

The *Chaitanyites* are in some respects the most liberal in thought, and in mode of life most free and unrestrained of all Vaiṣṇavite ascetics. They admit into the order men and women from all, even the lowest, castes, and with few exceptions do not profess or practise celibacy. The sect is most widely spread in Bengal, of which district the founder was a native. They wear white, or sometimes yellow garments, abstain from meat and spirits, and carry the usual *tulasī* rosary and necklace. There are several subdivisions, the moral reputation of some of which does not stand high (see art. BENGAL, CHAITANYA).

The *Kabir Panthins* can hardly be said to affect asceticism in any real sense of the term. They wear no distinctive dress, carry the usual necklace and beads, and on their foreheads the distinctive mark of Viṣṇu. The wandering monks of the order are numerous in northern and central India, and bear a high character for simplicity and purity of life.*

The remaining orders of *sādhus* have originated among the Sikhs. The three most important are known as *Akālins*, *Nirmālin*, and *Udāsins*. There are others less numerous and distinctive. In general the dress of the Sikh *sādhu* is more complete than that of the ascetics of other, or at least of Saivite orders; and he bears less prominent and obtrusive marks of his ascetic profession. The *Akālins*, or *Nihangs*, are the militant monks of the Sikh faith. They dress in blue garments, and travel over the country fully armed, on horseback or riding on camels, and their requests for alms are said to be preferred with a tone and manner that secures instant compliance (see art. AKĀLIS). The *Nirmālin*s are for the most part quiet and inoffensive students of the sacred books, whose only outward marks of their *sādhu* profession are their reddish-yellow garments and long hair (see art. NIRMĀLIN). The *Udāsins* dress in salmon-coloured robes, with a peculiar pointed cap, and a black cord round the neck; and, in addition to the water-pot, usually a gourd, carry a bag over the shoulder, and a small black mat or carpet, which they spread on the ground when they rest. Some Udāsins shave the head, while others allow the hair to grow; all avoid the use of meat or spirits, and do not smoke, and are pledged to poverty and continence† (see art. UDĀSIN).

There have also been at all times a few *sādhvīs*, or female ascetics, in India, who have emulated their more numerous male companions in their devotion and the rigour of their ascetic practices. The publicity, however, which the profession of sādhuism entails is an obstacle to its frequent adoption by Indian women, and any general observance by them of ascetic habits or vows would be opposed to the sentiments and prejudices of the Hindus themselves. *Sādhvīs* are usually widows, who have less to lose in the adoption of a roving life; and in most instances, though not always, are of low caste. It would seem also that generally, although again not without exceptions, the *sādhvī* is moved to enter upon this manner of life by the desire to cast in her lot with father or other male relative or friend; and solitude therefore rarely forms part of the voluntary penance which she undergoes. The case is recorded,

* Oman, *op. cit.* p. 184 ff.

† *Ib.* p. 152.

‡ See G. A. Grierson in *JRAS*, 1903, p. 448 f., 1907, p. 317 ff., and art. RĀMĀNUJA.

§ Oman, *op. cit.* p. 188 ff.

* See G. A. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*, Cawnpore, 1907; G. A. Grierson, in *Bible in the World*, 1903, pp. 247 ff., 269 ff.; and art. KABIR PANTHI.

† See Oman, *op. cit.* ch. viii.

however, of a Hindu widow of good family, who lived as a solitary recluse in an underground cell near Benares for thirty-eight years, devoting herself to study and the practice of *yoga*, revered by all the people, and receiving visitors from the great distances to which her fame had spread.*

Asceticism, and the habits and practices associated with it, have been adopted in several instances in India by Christian missionaries, with the purpose and hope of thereby commending their teaching to the people among whom their lives were spent. It is doubtful how far the attempt has ever been really successful. With the spirit that counselled and animated such resolutions, moving men to self-renunciation and the abandonment of all for the sake of duty, and to promote the unselfish end which they had in view, all will feel sympathy. In the regard of every Hindu also the ascetic ideal is a noble one, and the man who endeavours to put it into practice is worthy of all honour. It would seem, however, that the utmost sacrifice which it is in the power of a European, either by constitution or circumstances, to make cannot approach the abnegation or extreme rigour of self-mortification of the ordinary Indian *sādhu*; and therefore to the Indian his mode of living will probably appear to be a pale imitation, not wholly sincere, and immeasurably below the true ideal. It will excite his wonder, but in no degree move him to respect, while the motive that prompts the adoption of such a life will be entirely beyond his comprehension. There have been native Indians also, Christian *sādhus*, who have wandered through the country in ascetic garb, and followed the ascetic rule of preaching and teaching by the way. Their action, so far as it is possible to ascertain, has greatly increased and widened their influence for good, and has appeared entirely commendable to their fellow-countrymen.†

4. Religious and ethical value of 'tapas'.—There is probably no country in which asceticism has been so widely and constantly practised, or in which its ideals have been held in such high regard, as India. The injunctions of their sacred books, and the examples of their sages, have kept before the mind of the people the thought that renunciation of the world, with rejection of its pleasures and pursuits, is the supreme good. And although the motive of the abnegation and bodily self-mortification of the Indian *sādhu* was undoubtedly in the ultimate analysis selfish‡—he abandoned the world that he might gain something better for himself—yet his life and action were an ever-present reminder to the people that the good of this world is not the good which is most worth having; and his example revived in them the longing, which the pressure of worldly cares and ambitions might well have deadened or crushed, for a higher experience of life than was suggested by the hard material facts of the present. The hand that pointed upwards and onwards might indeed be prompted by no generous or altruistic spirit. Nevertheless it did suggest and invite to upward striving. And there can hardly be any doubt that, in spite of its obvious drawbacks and limitations, *sādhism* has been on the whole a good to India, and a force that has made for righteousness in the broadest use of the word.

That ideal commanded the assent and enthusiastic goodwill of the people at large. They were not blind to the defects and dangers of an ascetic

life, the opportunities it afforded for imposture, the habits of idleness and the love of ease which it promoted. While, however, they jeered at the *sādhu*, they respected his profession and wished themselves to be like him. It was his better qualities that they revered, and the ideal which he represented. His ignorances and littlenesses they tolerated or laughed at, while they allowed his claim to a holiness greater than any to which they, pre-occupied with mundane affairs, could aspire. That there were pretenders and impostors among the ever-moving crowd of ascetics, men to whom godliness was a way of gain, the keen instinct of the people always recognized. These, however, were not true *sādhus*, but were masquerading in a borrowed garb to which they had no right; and their presence hardly lessened the respect in which the profession was held, or weakened the influence which its better members wielded. It was and remained good that an ideal of purity, self-restraint, and indifference to pleasure and wealth should be constantly exhibited in concrete form before the eyes of the people.

On the other hand, the existence of so large a number of able-bodied men, living in idleness, cannot have been other, to our Western modes of thinking at least, than a burden to the commonwealth. No *sādhu* ever did any work. He passed his time in the most complete and absolute idleness, as far as the labour of the hands was concerned; and from a social or communistic point of view, his life was entirely unproductive. It must be remembered, however, that the burden was very widely distributed, from Cape Comorin to the utmost Himālayas; and that in any given case the demand made by the individual *sādhu* upon the people among whom he sojourned was very slight. The burden was probably little felt, much less than would have been the case in the more artificial and closer-knit States of the West. It is true, nevertheless, that, on the premisses of Western logic and argument, the loss of the remunerative labour of so great an army of potential workers cannot have been other than hurtful to the general prosperity of the land.

Sādhism also, both by its principles and by its practice, struck a heavy blow at the spirit of caste. To the true *sādhu* all things were indifferent, and therefore the distinctions and jealousies of caste were nothing to him. Most of the orders acted up to this belief, although a few refused admission to membership to any but Brāhman, and declined to receive food from men of a lower caste. Their influence, therefore, on the whole was democratic and levelling; they stood for brotherhood and equality as against caste assumption and pride. And mingling with the people as they did on their incessant journeyings, the conceptions and theories which they thus represented, though they never availed to break the Brāhman yoke, must have struck deep root, and given rise to many searchings of heart.

There is, however, at the present day a new spirit brooding over the land, inimical to *sādhism* and the ideals which it represents and fosters. Western activities, and the conceptions of duty and aim which the West has introduced, and which are acting as a strong ferment in the life and society of India, must in the long run be fatal to the ascetic, to the world-renouncing spirit. English education, if there were nothing else, and the strenuous life which it inculcates, will render impossible the meditative existence of the *sādhu*—the man who in the world is not of it. The end is not yet; for perhaps a considerable time to come the professed ascetic in India will perform his pilgrimages by rail, will utilize the electric light and the other appliances and conveniences of

* Oman, *op. cit.* p. 244 f.

† For a recent example of Indian Christian *sādhus*, see *Harvest Field*, 1906, p. 300 f.

‡ Cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 364 f.; the worth of *tapas* to the Indian was primarily its worth to himself; the external results, its worth for others, were of comparatively little account.

civilization, and will remain what he is, unmoved and unchanged. Eventually, however, and inevitably the forces of the new era will be too strong for him. It is hardly possible that the *sādhu* should accommodate himself to an age that prizes merchandise and gold above all. He must vanish before the pressure of modern forces and strange ideas. But with him will go one of the most picturesque if not the most lovable figures that Indian history or life has to show. And it is permissible to doubt whether the new spirit and influence that is driving him from the world's stage will be on the whole more conducive to India's real welfare and happiness than his has been throughout the long centuries.

LITERATURE.—The more important works have been quoted in the course of the article. The most complete description in English of ascetics and their manner of life is to be found in J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, Lond. 1903, and the same author's *Culte, Customs, and Superstitions of India*², Lond. 1908, pt. i. ch. 1, and pt. iii. ch. 4. E. S. Oakley, *Holy Himalaya*, Lond. 1905, describes the sacred places of pilgrimage in Kumāun and Garhwāl; and an interesting description of a visit to the *sādhus* of Rishi Kesh is given by T. L. Pennell in *Church Miss. Intelligencer*, 1905, p. 597 ff. Add F. Max Müller, *Rāmākrishṇa, His Life and Sayings*, new impression, Lond. 1905; Monier Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*⁴, Lond. 1891, with a portrait and description of a high-caste Brāhman *sannyāsin*, formerly prime minister of Bhaunagar, and a C.S.I.; W. Crooke, *P.R.*, Lond. 1896; J. Jolly, 'Recht und Sitte' in *GIAP*, Straßburg, 1896, p. 150 f.; P. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edin. 1908, pp. 65 ff., 373 ff., *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, i. 3, Leipzig, 1908, and *Das Yogasystem*, p. 543 ff., cf. pp. 94 f., 98 f.; artt. *ĀSRAMA*, *YOGA*.

A. S. GEDEN.

ASCETICISM (Japanese).—The asceticism found in Japan after the introduction of Buddhism is only a foreign importation with which we are not concerned here (see ASCETICISM [Buddhist]). What we must give our attention to is the only original form of Japanese asceticism, that is to say, the asceticism of primitive Shinto as it is met with in the most ancient documents.

A Chinese traveller, describing the Japanese of the early centuries of our era, mentions this interesting custom: 'They appoint a man whom they call an "abstainer."' He is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat flesh, or to approach women. When they are fortunate, they make him presents; but if they are ill or meet with disaster, they set it down to the abstainer's failure to keep his vows, and unite to put him to death' (W. G. Aston, 'Early Japanese History,' in the *TASSJ* vol. xvi. pt. 1, p. 55). All the features of this description—carelessness with regard to the cleanliness of the hair and the body, abstinence from certain foods, and continence—correspond exactly with what we know of the usual condition of the 'god-men' who are found among so many primitive peoples, and who, when illness or any other calamity occurs, are held to be responsible, and are deposed, punished, or killed (see J. G. Frazer, *GB*², *passim*). Analogous conceptions are also known to exist in China, where the Emperor is held responsible for drought; and in Korea, where, in the event of a bad harvest, the ancient kings were deposed or put to death.

If we turn now to the most ancient Japanese book, the *Kojiki* (A.D. 712), we shall not find this primitive custom mentioned; but we may see there at least an idea of abstinence which appears to be the continuation of it. This idea is expressed by the word *imi*, the root of the verb *imu*, which, in its original meaning, signifies 'to shun.' In one passage the reference is to a sacred weaving-hall (*imi-hataya*), where the Sun-goddess presides at the making of the garments of the gods. Here *imi* has only the secondary sense of 'sacred,' which, however, is closely related to its original meaning. In another passage we have an account of the mythical origin of the *Imibe no obito*, that

is to say, the chiefs of the *Imibe* (or *Imbe*), a hereditary corporation of abstaining priests, who claimed descent from the god Futo-dama ('Great Jewel' or, rather, 'Great Gift,' 'Great Offering'). Again, in a third passage, relative to the troubles which followed the death of the first legendary Emperor, Jimmu, we are told that one of his sons, renouncing his claim to the succession, became an 'abstainer' (see *Kojiki*, ed. with notes by Motoōri, 1789-1822, vols. 8, 15, 20; or the Eng. tr. by B. H. Chamberlain, sec. 15, 33, 53, pp. 62, 134, 186 of the re-issue of 1906).

The *Nihongi*, which appeared only eight years later, that is, in A.D. 720, contains passages corresponding to the first two passages of the *Kojiki*; but, under the influence of Chinese ideas, it substitutes for the 'abstainer' of the third passage a single priest 'of the gods of Heaven and Earth' (*Nihongi*, ed. Shukai, vols. 1 and 4, or the Eng. tr. by W. G. Aston, 1896, pp. 41, 42-47, 140).

We shall now examine the documents relating to worship, especially the old rituals in which the *Imibe* appear (*Engishiki*, A.D. 927, ed. Dehahon, vol. 8, *norito* 1, 8, 14), to see more clearly what their 'abstinence' consisted in. The special function of the *Imibe* was to prepare the offerings for the gods, 'avoiding' all impurity in doing so. This is what is given in exact terms in the last lines of the first ritual, relating to the *Toshigohi no matsuri*, or 'Festival for the Harvest,' celebrated at the time of sowing, and also at the end of the fourteenth ritual, recited at the *Ohonihe no matsuri*, or 'Festival of the Great Offering of Food,' which was a festival of first-fruits (*Nihi-name*, 'New-tasting'), more solemn, and celebrated only at the accession of the Emperors. On the other hand, in the eighth ritual, concerning the festival of the *Ohotono Hogahi*, or 'Luck-wishing of the Great Palace,' we are told that it was the *Imibe* who, with a sacred (*imi*) axe, set to work on the wood destined for the construction of this palace, and who, with a sacred (*imi*) mattock, dug out its foundations. On this occasion they also prepared the offerings, brought the Imperial insignia into the great hall, hung up the magic stones in various places (the audience-hall, the Emperor's bathroom and privy), and in conclusion pronounced the ritual. The recitation of the ritual (No. 9) for the *Mikado matsuri*, or 'Festival of the Sublime Gates,' was also entrusted to them. In short, the main idea underlying these various functions is that of material purity, which the *Imibe* had to ensure by avoiding with great care everything that might cause defilement.

Apart from the *Imibe*, abstinence was practised also by certain people and on certain occasions. As a general custom, to prepare himself for a religious festival, the officiating priest had to remain indoors (*i-gomori*), to avoid speaking and making a noise, to eat no food except that cooked on a pure fire (*imu-bi*), in short, to contrive to escape every possible cause of uncleanness. The duration of this abstinence varied, too, with the importance of the festivals: a month for festivals of the first class, three days for festivals of the second class, and one day for festivals of the third class. During the month preceding the *Ohonihe*, the most important festival of ancient Shinto, a lesser abstinence (*ara-imi*) was observed, and during the last three days a greater abstinence (*ma-imi*). The Emperor himself, having to take part personally in the ceremony, had to conform to this rule. When the Emperor Yuriaku desired to see the god of Mount Mimoro without having practised abstinence previous to presenting himself before him, he was confronted by the apparition of a dreadful serpent, which made him rush, terror-stricken, into the interior of his palace for

safety (*Nihongi*, which assigns the event to A.D. 463). Certain categories of priests had to observe special forms of abstinence. Some lower priests, the *Negi* (from *negafu*, 'to pray'), were called *imi-bi* in some old provinces, because of the particular care which they had to take to avoid all uncleanness with respect to fire. Similarly, the priestesses had to be virgins. This rule of continence was limited, however, to the time of their priesthood, and did not prevent their marrying afterwards. The *Saiwō*, a princess of the Imperial blood consecrated to the worship of the Sun-goddess, prepared herself for this office for a long time before. For three years, on the first day of each month, she had to repair to a sacred hall (*imi-dono*), where she worshipped towards the great temple of Ise. This was the 'three years' abstinence' (*mi-tose no mono-imi*). The *Kamu no Kō*, or 'god-children,' young daughters of the nobility attached to the principal temples to perform there the sacred dance (*kagura*), and to cook the food for the offerings, were called also *mono-imi*, that is to say, 'abstainers from things' ('impure' being understood). Lastly, from a passage of the *Hitachi Fudoki* we gather that a domestic *Nih-name* existed apart from the official festival, and that on this occasion abstinence was observed by all the family. But in every case abstinence was associated with the idea of ritual purity. The important thing was to avoid impurities (*tsumi*) of every kind, that is to say, everything that might be displeasing to the gods, e.g. uncleanness (to begin with personal cleanliness: no one could take part in a religious ceremony without first having washed and put on clean clothes), crimes condemned from the ritualistic point of view (e.g. incest), and lastly, calamities (such as the bite of serpents), because these were then regarded as a Divine punishment for some unknown offence. But, on the other hand, certain things forbidden to the ascetics of the primitive period, such as eating meat, were not considered to be contrary to this Shinto conception of abstinence.

The psychological evolution of Japanese asceticism can be clearly followed in this series of documents taken in their chronological order. In the first centuries of the Christian era we have the asceticism of primitive peoples, characterized chiefly by its strict abstinence and continence, and by carelessness with regard to personal cleanliness. In the 8th cent. we can scarcely discover any trace of an ascetic properly so called (cf. the passage from *Kojiki* which the *Nihongi* thought it necessary to correct). On the other hand, there is mentioned as a hereditary priesthood, already well established, this corporate body of the *Imibe* which we see afterwards in operation in the *Engishiki* in the 10th cent., and which represents the most typical case of the abstinence practised also by many other people in all circumstances connected with religious rites. But, under this new form which so quickly succeeded the preceding one, Japanese asceticism no longer demanded abstinence properly so called, or even continence, except as an immediate preparation for certain festivals or as a temporary condition for certain functions; and, above all, far from regarding filth as a virtue, it required absolute cleanliness. Thus the idea of religious purity had undergone a complete transformation; and, in conformity with this instinct for cleanness which already manifested itself as one of the distinctive features of the national character, physical cleanliness became itself the condition of moral and ritualistic purity.

MICHEL REVON.

ASCETICISM (Jewish).—I. Pre-exilic customs.—Jewish piety, consisting originally of faith and trust in a covenant God, found no room for

asceticism as a self-imposed discipline of the soul. Indeed, the terms of the bi-lateral covenant between Jahweh and Israel rendered asceticism impossible. For, according to the solemn transaction on Sinai, Israel became Jahweh's own people in a special manner, pledged henceforth to acknowledge Jahweh as their only God, and to obey His will as revealed to them by Divinely-inspired legislators and prophets. Jahweh in return solemnly promised to remain Israel's God. Moderate prosperity was therefore regarded as His smile on His land and people. In the midst of opulence it was possible 'to walk with Jahweh.' No mortification of the flesh or renunciation of the world was necessary to arrive at the highest stage of Jahweh-pleasing holiness. And so we find that pre-exilic customs and laws were adverse to asceticism, e.g. mutilation of the body was forbidden (Lv 19²⁸, Dt 14¹ 23¹), fasting was only an accompaniment of prayer and confession of sin, and was therefore an act of humiliation before God, and not a self-inflicted chastisement, and, except on the Day of Atonement, was left to the free will of the faithful (1 S 7⁶, Ps 35¹³, Dn 9⁸, Ezr 8²³, Jer 36⁹).

2. **Post-exilic legalism.**—The re-organization of the community after the Exile laid the foundation of that rigid, torpid legalism from which Judaism has not yet recovered. The leaders of the nation, in their efforts to re-establish the theocracy and to guard it against internal and external foes, had recourse to the rigour of the Mosaic Law. They had already learned in Babylon that by attachment to ancestral customs they could remain the people of Jahweh outside Palestine and without a sacrificial cult. On their return, the miserable condition of the nation and the scanty materials at their disposal for re-building the State rendered adherence to the Law their only weapon in the struggle for self-preservation. The theocracy was gradually being converted into a nomocracy. 'Let it be done according to the law' (Ezr 10⁸) became henceforth the norm of Judaism. No longer the prophet with fresh messages from Jahweh, but the expounder of the Law became the spiritual guide. Fresh cases for which the Law had made no provision were decided by an artificial deduction from the written, or by an appeal to the traditions or unwritten Law. If the name 'Pharisee' as the designation of a party sprang up after the Maccabean rising, the spirit of Pharisaism or Nomism came with the exiles from Babylon. 'The law was forgotten in Israel, and Ezra restored it' (*Sukka*, 20a). Even five centuries later, Hillel, the great doctor of the Law, was called 'disciple of Ezra' (*Tos. Sot.* 13). Thus the State became a Church, and religion equivalent to legalism, according to which a man's acceptance with God depended on a considerable balance of good works over his failings. 'Know also,' says *Pirke Aboth* (iv. 29), 'that everything is according to reckoning.' 'Weigh thou therefore our wickedness now in the balance, and theirs also that dwell in the world, and so shall thy name no where be found but in Israel' (2 Es 3³⁴; cf. also *Siphra* to Lv 26⁹). Piety was equivalent to a life of righteousness, but such righteousness as God acknowledged and demanded in the Law.

3. **Hasidism.**—The early enthusiasts of Nomism and forerunners of the Pharisees were the Hasidim. They were neither a sect nor a political party, as might appear from 1 Mac 2⁴, but only the pious in the land, of whom frequent mention is made in the Psalms (cf. *JE* vi. 250 f.). They were the successors of those coadjutors of Ezra who endeavoured to fulfil the Law in all its bearings. With that they combined austerity of life and a contempt for earthly possessions (cf. Enoch 108⁹⁴). They were expected to be more self-denying than God-fearing

men (*Shab.* 120a). Theirs was the highest degree of piety (*Rosh hash.* 17). 'Zeal leads to innocence, innocence to purity, purity to Pharisaism, Pharisaism to holiness, holiness to humility, humility to sin-fearing, sin-fearing to Hasidism, Hasidism to the gift of the Holy Spirit,' etc. (*Soṭa* ix. 15). Their excess of piety was so great that their practice could not be quoted to prove a doubtful halakha (*Men.* 41a). Only those were admitted into their circle who were learned (*Pirge Aboth* ii. 6), and whose youth had never been defiled by sin (*Suk.* 53a; see also *B. ḥama*, 103b). Most praiseworthy was their cultivation of an even temperament, a forgiving spirit, generosity in money transactions, and almsgiving (*Pirge Aboth* v. 10, 11, 14). Their devotions were preceded and succeeded by an hour's meditation, and accordingly they spent nine hours a day in spiritual exercises (*Brākh.* 32b). In order to sacrifice the more, they occasionally took the Nazirite vow (*Ned.* 10a). It was probably due to their excessive fasting that they mostly died of enteric diseases, from which they suffered ten or twenty days before their death (*Sanh.* iii. 9; *Gen. Rab.* 62).

Since, however, the object of the Hasidim was not mortification of the flesh but nōmism, their asceticism did not exclude such indulgences as were permitted by the Law. Hence they never eschewed marriage, although even in the married state they imposed restrictions on themselves (*Nid.* 38a). Unlike the Essenes, they did not live in separate communities, and therefore it is incorrect to describe them as an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. Hasidism merged not into Essenism but into Pharisaism and Rabbinism. Pharisees are mentioned first in the time of Jonathan (*Jos. Ant.* XIII. v. 9). Henceforth a Hasid was only an exaggerated Pharisee. Most of the Rabbis who were eminent for piety bore the title Hasid.

4. Pharisaism and Rabbinism.—Although the Pharisees were as rigorous in their opposition to Greek hedonism as were the Hasidim, in their life and teaching they modified the austere views of the latter, and showed less tendency to asceticism. Starting from the principle that right and wrong were defined by the Law, and that the choice of either was in one's own power (cf., besides Josephus, *Pirge Aboth* iii. 19), they had no inducement to inquire further into the origin of evil, or to trace any connexion between cosmic and individual evil. God created the evil inclination (יצר הרע), and God created the Law as antidote (*Kid.* 30b). As long as the faithful were occupied with the study of the Law and with the performance of works of mercy, they had the power over their own evil inclination (*ʿAbōdā zārā*, 5b). Perfection could be aimed at by a punctilious attendance to the positive and negative precepts of the Law, without the suppression of the natural feelings. A legalist could therefore indulge in all those pleasures of life of which the Law took no cognizance, provided that indulgence did not interfere with Israel's separation (cf. also *Jeb.* 20a, 'Hallow thyself also in lawful matters'). The body was accordingly considered sacred, having been created in God's image (*Lev. R.* 34). Self-inflicted injuries were forbidden (*B. ḥam.* 91b).

No scribe might live in a town which did not possess, among other sanitary requisites, a bath, a barber, and a physician (*Sanh.* 17b). When health required, one might sell one's shoes for food; and he who stinted himself was threatened with retribution by Providence (*Shab.* 129a). To save life, even the life of a newborn infant, all laws except those relating to idolatry, incest, and murder might be suspended (*Joma*, 82a) and the Sabbath profaned (*Shab.* 128b; cf. also *Mekh. Ki This*, 1, 'The Sabbath is delivered unto you, not you unto

the Sabbath'). A hungry invalid might be dictated on ceremonially unclean food. The wine-cup hallowed the Sabbath and great festivals, and was not missing from the social board. 'He who abstains from wine is a sinner' (*Ta'an.* 11a). Rab went so far as to say that in the great Judgment Day man would have to give an account for every lawful pleasure he refused (*Jer. Kid.* iv.). The same Rabbi on another occasion said, 'Beati possidentes לך היב לך יש לך', for there are no pleasures in Sheol, and death knows no delay' (*Erub.* 54a).

Nevertheless, moderation and contentment were among the cardinal virtues of Judaism. 'A rich man is he who is contented with his lot' (*Ab.* iv. 1). 'Man must be taught not to be a glutton' (*B. mez.* vii. 5). From Dt 14²² the Rabbis curiously deduce that one may not eat meat unless he has a special appetite for it (*Hul.* 84a). 'Abstain from evil, and from every appearance of evil' (*Hul.* 44b). Marriage was raised by the Rabbis to a positive precept, based on Gn 1 and Is 45¹⁸. There are a few isolated passages in pre-Talmudic writings which seem to attach greater sanctity to the virgin and celibate state than to wedded life (see 2 Es 16⁴, Wis 3¹⁸, Sibyll. ii. 48, Test. Issachar 2). Enoch (83²) received his revelation before his marriage (cf. also To 8⁷, Jth 8⁴ 9⁴ 16³, Lk 2³⁸, Mt 19¹²). But this was not in accordance with the teaching and practice of the Rabbis, to whom marriage was both a legal duty and a safeguard against sin (*Jeb.* 63b, *K'eth.* 61b). Nowhere in the Rabbinic literature is abstinence from marriage recommended as a help to piety.

Great merit was attached to fasting. The fact that an official calendar, the *Meḡillath ta'anith*, was published, which prohibits fasting on certain days, shows the prevalence of private fasting at the time of the Christian era. The bi-weekly fast, supposed to have been instituted by Ezra, which is mentioned in Lk 18¹² and in the *Didache*, is still observed in the East by extremely devout Jews. But the ethical value of public and private fasting consisted in its sacrificial nature and in its being the outward expression of penitence; it was not regarded as a stage on the path to perfection.

The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus led many Jews to adopt ascetic practices. Some abstained from meat and wine because of the cessation of sacrifices and libations. But Joshua b. Hananiah argued that for similar reasons they should abstain from bread, water, and fruits, for these also were elements offered on the altar (*Baba bathra*, 60b).

There are, indeed, instances of Rabbis who led ascetic lives. Thus R. Zadok is said to have fasted forty years to avert the destruction of the Temple, and he was so emaciated that, at the request of R. Jochanan, Vespasian allowed him to be treated by a physician (*Git.* 56b, *Lam. R.* i. 5). His contemporary Hanina b. Dosa, the thaumaturgos, subsisted only on a kab of locust beans from week's end to week's end (*Brākh.* 18). Nor were R. Ze'era and Simeon b. Jochai, though abstinent, ascetics in the true sense of the word. Asceticism was not suited to the Jewish temper. Although trials and chastisements (סירות) were regarded as Divinely ordered for expiatory reasons and with promises of compensation, they were not willingly sought after. Both R. Hiya bar Abba and R. Jochanan, when asked whether trials were welcome to them, are recorded to have replied, 'No, I will have neither them nor their reward' (*Brākh.* 5b). The principle of Rabbinism was, 'The disciples of Abraham our father enjoy this world, and are heirs of the world to come' (*Ab.* v. 22).

5. Alexandrianism.—While Palestinian Judaism was being developed into a forensic science, that of the Greek diaspora, notably in Alexandria, assumed the appearance of a philosophical system. There

were several agencies at work to produce this effect. The inability to fulfil every precept of the Mosaic Law on foreign soil must have been the first inducement to spiritualize the Law. The Stoa further supplied them with the allegorical method, and the Greek language with a metaphysical terminology. As early as pseudo-Aristeas the Jewish delegates to Ptolemy IV. are called philosophers (Kautzsch, *Apok.* ii. 21). According to the fragments of Aristobulus, the most prominent Greek philosophers and poets derived their knowledge from Moses, who was the inspiration and source of all philosophy. One of the fundamental principles of this religious philosophy was the pessimistic dichotomy of man which led to asceticism. 'The corruptible body,' says the Book of Wisdom, 'presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things' (9¹⁶). But it is Philo who is the prophet of Alexandrianism. According to him, man's highest aim is a mystic union with the Deity, attained through asceticism and flight from the world, the former as a means of liberating the spirit from the trammels of the flesh, the latter as a safeguard against a relapse into the sensual (*de Præm. et Pæn.* ii. 411). The patriarchs were accordingly ascetics and hermits. Enoch was removed from sinful surroundings (*de Abr.* iii. 352). Abraham's call was accompanied with the command to depart from temptations of the flesh (*de Mig. Abr.* i. 437). Jacob was the true ascetic who wrestled until he obtained a vision of God (*de Som.* i. 643). But the greatest ascetic was Moses, whom self-discipline and continence qualified for the gift of prophecy, and raised to the nearest approach to God (*Vita Mos.* ii. 145 ff.). Alexandrianism left no impression on Palestinian Judaism, though some of the Philonic *Midrash* found its way into the Rabbinic *Haggada*. The *hokhmah Sevanith*, or Greek philosophy, had no attraction for the Rabbis. The works of Philo would have perished if they had not been preserved by Christians. The first Jew who mentions Philo is A. dei Rossi (1573).

6. Essenism.—The asceticism of the Essenes, as seen in the short accounts of them by Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, is so strange that we doubt whether the Essenes and their practices have any claim to be called Jewish. Even the origin of the sect is obscure. Since no satisfactory derivation of the name exists, we hazard the suggestion that *Essaioi* is an ethnic term—*Essautes*, or Idumæans, or at least a clan of Idumæa.* This would coincide with Pliny's account of their chief settlement on the western shores of the Dead Sea, and would also account for Herod's partiality for them, and for the presence of an Essene in his court. Their rejection of animal sacrifice removes them considerably from Palestinian Judaism, in which the sacrificial cult is everything. Their other tenets are so non-Jewish that the conviction is inevitable that the sect was of exotic origin, though on Jewish borderland; that in its gradual development it received accretions from Pythagoreanism, and finally from Alexandrianism; that to replenish its ranks it carried on a propaganda in Palestine and Syria where the soil was ripe for anti-hedonic movements; and that those Jews who joined the order, and among them chiefly Hasidim and Pharisees, would adopt only those practices of the Essenes which were not inconsistent with the State religion. Thus Onias ha-M'aggel, who is supposed to have been an Essene (*Ta'an.* 19 and *ib. Tos.* ii. 11), was a married man and offered sacrifices (*Ta'an.* 23). Josi b. Joezer the priest, another reputed Essene, was a wealthy man (*Baba bathra.* 133). The number of adherents, however, could not have been very considerable. The name

* For other etymologies cf. Kohler, *JE* v. 224.

'Essene' is not mentioned in the NT. In the Talmud the allusions to them are scanty and doubtful, and under the appellations of *Vathikin* ('firm'), *Znuim* ('modest'), *Hashaim* ('silent,' 'mysterious'), *Bannaim* ('builders'), and *Tobbe Shahrith* ('morning bathers'). Perhaps the *Anshe Ma'aseh* ('men of work'), who are mentioned on a par with the Hasidim (*Sukka.* 51; *Sotā* ix. 15), were Essene ascetics, *ma'aseh* being pure Hebrew for 'eseke' (= *ἀσκησις*, 'work,' 'occupation').

7. Modern Judaism.—The teaching of the Talmud is codified in the *Turim* and *Shulhān 'Arukh*, which is still binding on Judaism. We look in vain for traces of asceticism in that code.

The Jewish devotional literature of the Middle Ages shows indeed a tendency to asceticism. Foremost among these is Bahya's *Hoboth ha-Lebaboth* ('Duties of the Heart'), which is a Hebrew translation from the original Arabic made by Ibn Tibbon (1161–1180), and is as popular among orthodox Jews as Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation* among Christians. So are the *Sha'are Teshubah* ('Gates of Repentance') and *Sepher ha-Jirah* ('the Book of Fear'), by Jonah Geronoli († 1263). But this is due mainly to the influence of Græco-Arabic philosophy (see Brüll, *Jahrb.* v. and vi. 71–93). Maimonides' views are more in accordance with the Jewish spirit. In his *Mishne Torah*, *De'oth* iii. 1 and vi. 1, he points out that asceticism is not only unnecessary but even sinful. Judah Halevi, another prominent philosopher, in the *Kuzari* (iii. 1 and 4), states: 'The prevalent custom among us is not to separate oneself from the world, nor to despise life . . . but to love the world and length of life.'

On the asceticism of the Kabbalists and Kabbalistic Hasidim see KABBALISM, HASIDISM, also ESSENES, KARAITES, PHARISEES, and SECTS (Jewish).

LITERATURE.—M. Lazarus, *Ethics of Judaism* (Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1900), §§ 246–256; *JE* ii. 165–169; Bousset, *Rel. d. Judent.* 1906, pp. 470–539; Koeberle, *Sünde u. Gnade*, 1906, pp. 469–571; M. Friedländer, *Rel. Beweg.* 1905, pp. 237–264; Schürer, *GVJ* (index). A. E. SUFFRIN.

ASCETICISM (Muslim).—The very copious materials which are available in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literature for the study of Muslim asceticism have hitherto received little attention from European scholars, and much remains to be done before it will be possible to give an adequate survey of the subject. This article can only attempt to sketch the main lines of development, and to illustrate the salient features of each.

1. Introduction: the teaching of Muhammad.
2. Early Muslim and Sūfī asceticism.
3. Development of Sūfī asceticism in the Middle Ages.
 - (a) Monastic institutions.
 - (b) Ascetic systems.
4. Philosophical asceticism.
5. Conclusion: the Dervish orders.

1. Introduction: the teaching of Muhammad.—The religious ideas of the pagan Arabs were vague and scanty. Engrossed in the toils and pleasures of the present life, they seldom thought of the future, and the notion of preparing themselves for a shadowy existence beyond the grave never entered their minds. It was Christianity, not ecclesiastical, but of an irregular and unorthodox type, that sowed the first seeds of asceticism in Arabia before the advent of Muhammad, and continued to exert a dominating influence upon its development in the Muslim empire during the early centuries. In pre-Islamic times Christianity was diffused among the tribes of North Arabia, and many Arabs had at least a superficial knowledge of its rites and doctrines (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 230 ff.). Allusions in the ancient poetry show that the Bedawīn were impressed by the Christian monk (*rāhib*), whose lamp, burning in his lonely

cell, was a welcome sight to travellers in the darkness of the desert. These monks, together with occasional wandering hermits, offered to the heathen Arabs a model of ascetic life, and inspired certain individuals, known as *ḥanīfs*, to reject idolatry, profess monotheism, and even adopt ascetic practices, such as the wearing of sackcloth and the abstention from particular kinds of food. There can be little doubt that the *ḥanīfs* stimulated Muhammad, with whom most of them were contemporary; two, in fact, were connected with him by blood or marriage (cf. Sir Charles Lyall, 'The words "Hanif" and "Muslim,"' in *JRAS*, 1903, p. 771 ff.). The influence of Christianity may serve to explain ascetic tendencies which appeared in the oldest form of Islām—e.g. Muhammad and his first converts used frequently to watch and pray through the night—but which were gradually mitigated (Wellhausen, *Reste*², 241). Asceticism is characteristic neither of Islām nor of its founder. The Prophet himself enjoyed all pleasures within his reach, and commanded his followers not to abstain from the good things which God allowed them (*Qur'ān*, v. 89). It is true that he imposed on them some restrictions and obligations of an ascetic nature—the fast during Ramaḍān, abstinence from intoxicating drinks, the five daily prayers, the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc.—but these only threw into stronger relief the social, active, and aggressive spirit of Islām as contrasted with monastic quietism and renunciation. Apart from general exhortations to recognize the vanity of earthly joys, and to put trust in good works rather than in the gifts of fortune, the *Qur'ān* contains few passages that can fairly be interpreted in a specifically ascetic sense. *Fasting* is enjoined as a penance for certain ritual and legal offences (*Qur.* ii. 192, 257, iv. 94, v. 91, lviii. 5); *penitence*, when accompanied by faith and pious works, turns evil into good (xxv. 70); *prayer* restrains a man from committing sin (xxix. 44); the doctrine of *self-purification*, especially by means of almsgiving (*zakkāt*), is preached in Sūras of the Meccan period: 'He that purifies himself (*taṣakkā*) hath attained felicity' (lxxvii. 14; cf. Grimme, *Mohammed*, 1904, pt. ii. p. 113). The root ZHD ('to renounce'), from which is derived *zuḥd*, the ordinary word for Muslim asceticism, occurs in the *Qur'ān* only once, and is applied reproachfully to those who sold Joseph for a low price (xii. 20); but an older term, *tabaṭṭul* ('detachment from the world'), is found (lxxiii. 8) among Divinely ordained acts of devotion. Another ancient epithet of ascetics is *sā'ihūn*, fem. *sā'ihāt* (literally, 'wanderers'); these are mentioned honourably (ix. 113, lxxvi. 5). It need scarcely be said that Muhammadan writers on asceticism interpret the *Qur'ān* in the light of their own theories, and import a technical meaning into many words, e.g. *dhikr* and *tawakkul*, which the Prophet used in the obvious signification.

2. Early Muslim and Sūfī asceticism.—According to the *Qur'ān* (lvii. 27), monasticism (*rahbāniya*) was an innovation in Christianity itself, and Muhammad in a famous sentence declared that it was no part of Islām. Nevertheless, some instances of a tendency in this direction are recorded by early Muslim tradition (see Goldziher, 'De l'Ascétisme aux premiers temps de l'Islām,' in *RHR*, vol. xxxvii. p. 314 ff.), which invariably represents Muhammad as condemning such acts of penance and mortification, whereas at a later time, when asceticism was firmly established in Islām, and had to be reconciled with the Prophet's teaching, he is constantly cited as an authority for similar practices. Goldziher has collected several examples of persons contemporary with Muhammad, or nearly so, who did penance for their sins. Thus Bahlūl b. Dhu'aib retired into the mountains in

the neighbourhood of Medina, clad himself in hair-cloth, and tied his hands behind his back with iron chains, crying repeatedly: 'O my God and my Lord! see Bahlūl, bound and shackled, confessing his sins.' Abū Lubāba, in remorse for an act of treachery (Ibn Hishām, 636), fastened himself to a pillar in the mosque at Medina, and remained in that position until he was assured that God had pardoned him. Other forms of penance were associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca. It was not unusual for pilgrims to go on foot and without shoes, or, while circumambulating the Ka'ba, to let themselves be led like a camel by means of a ring which was inserted in the nose (cf. Goldziher, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 36, n. 3). We hear of pilgrims who had taken a vow of silence; this was denounced as a heathen custom by the khalīf Abū Bakr.

The first century of Islām was singularly favourable to the growth of asceticism. The long and bloody civil wars, the fierce fanaticism of the political sects, the rapidly increasing laxity of morals, the spectacle of a military despotism enforcing its will upon devout Muslims, and openly rejecting every principle of the ideal theocracy which they wished to restore—all these circumstances contributed to excite in men's minds a disgust of earthly affairs, and fix their thoughts on the world to come. Hence arose a powerful and wide-spread ascetic movement, originally orthodox in character, but gradually developing mystical tendencies, and passing almost imperceptibly into the oldest form of Sūfism. During the Umayyad period (A.D. 661–750) this movement continued to bear a distinctly orthodox stamp, and derived its leaders, if not its chief strength, from the Pietists, including *Qur'ān*-reciters (*qurrā*), students of the *ḥadīth*, and learned divines. Its most prominent representative was the famous theologian Hasan of Baṣra (ob. 728 A.D.), who may be regarded as the founder of the Baṣrite school of ascetics and mystics (cf. *Qūl al-qulūb*, Cairo, 1310 A.H., i. 129 and 166). His sayings, and those of the early Muslims in general, leave no doubt that the mainsprings of their asceticism were (1) the intense terror produced by the vivid descriptions in the *Qur'ān* of the Day of Judgment and the tortures of Hell, and (2) a morbid consciousness of sin, which impelled them to spend their lives in penance and devotion. 'Only extreme fear,' said Sufyān ath-Thaurī (ob. 777–778 A.D.), 'enables any one to support the burden of devotion' (*Hilyat al-awliyā*, i. 74a). 'Suppose,' said Bishr b. Maṣṣūr to 'Aṭā as-Sulamī, 'that a blazing fire were kindled, and proclamation made that whoever entered it should be saved?' 'I should tremble,' 'Aṭā replied, 'lest my joy might cause me to expire before I reached it' (*ib.* i. 32b). Many stories are told of persons who died of fear on hearing a preacher describe the anguish that awaits the wicked after the Resurrection, or who wept so violently from terror and remorse that they swooned away. The slightest infraction of the religious law required a long and painful expiation. Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan is said to have wept for forty years because he once took a piece of clay from a neighbour's wall. There was a class of ascetics called 'the Weepers' (*al-Bakkā'ūn*), a term probably borrowed from Christian monasticism (Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, ed. Juynboll, i. 396, l. 5; cf. Thomas of Margā, *The Book of the Governors*, ed. Budge, vol. i, p. cxlvii).

In this connexion the pervading influence of Christianity on the early period of Muslim asceticism should not be overlooked (see von Kremer, *Herrschende Ideen*, 52 ff., 57 ff.; Goldziher, *RHR*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 314–324, and 'Materialien zur Entwicklungsgesch. des Sūfismus,' in *Vienna*

Oriental Journal, vol. xiii. p. 35 ff.). Not only can the dress, vows of silence, and many other practices of Muslim ascetics be traced to this source, but in the oldest Sūfi biographies, besides numerous anecdotes of the Christian monk (*rāhib*), who from his cell or pillar gives instruction and advice to wandering Muslim devotees, we find unmistakable proof that the doctrines of the latter were, to a considerable extent, based on Jewish and Christian traditions. Quotations from the Pentateuch and the Gospels frequently occur among the sayings attributed to Muhammadan saints; and Biblical stories, related from the monastic point of view, were eagerly read, e.g. the popular collection entitled *al-Isrā'īliyyāt*, which is said to have been compiled by Wabb b. Munabbih (ob. 728 A.D.), and the still extant *Qışaṣ al-anbiyā* ('Tales of the Prophets'), by Tha'labi (ob. 1036 A.D.). While, as has been stated, many of the early Muslim ascetics belonged to the learned class, lived in towns, and did not exclude themselves from social intercourse and public life, the movement had its roots among the common folk, of whom a great number embraced with enthusiasm the ideal of unworldliness that was held up to them, and strove to attain it by abandoning all human society, seeking shelter in caves and cemeteries, or roaming in solitary places, deserts, mountains, and on the shore. Of such wanderers Ibrāhīm b. Adham (ob. 776 A.D.) is a type, although, unlike most of them, he was of noble birth. A prince of Balikh, he clad himself in garments of wool, left his kingdom, and roamed through Syria, earning a scanty livelihood by gardening and other kinds of manual labour. On being asked why he shunned the sight of men, he replied: 'I have clasped my religion to my bosom, and am fleeing with it from town to town and from peak to peak. All who see me think that I am a camel-driver (read *jammālī* for *ḥammālī*) or a madman. This I do, that perchance I may save my religion from Satan, and bring my faith safely forth through the gate of death' (*Tadh. al-anbiyā*, ed. Nicholson, i. 95. 15 ff.). Others, again, sought refuge from worldly temptations in the Sūfi monasteries which began to be founded before the close of the 2nd cent. A.H. Women took an active part in the movement, especially on its mystical side (see SŪFIISM). It had no organization, no system of doctrine, but is characterized, as Goldziher has observed (*Vienna Orient. Journ.* vol. xiii. p. 37), by the one-sided elaboration of certain Qur'anic ideas and doctrines, with a corresponding neglect of other elements equally important in the eyes of orthodox Muhammadans. In the early period, asceticism can hardly be separated from Sūfiism; and even when the distinction became sharp (in the 3rd cent. of Islām), many who called themselves Sūfis were really little more than ascetics with a vein of mysticism. It will be convenient, therefore, to regard the early Sūfis as in some degree belonging to the movement under consideration, leaving the monastic institutions and organized asceticism of a later period to be treated in the following section. We shall now deal with some practices and theories which illustrate the general character of ancient Muslim asceticism.

(a) *Dress*.—Garments of coarse wool (*ṣūf*) were a mark of asceticism in pre-Islamic times: in this respect the Arabs copied the Christian hermits (Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, vol. xlviii. p. 47). Similar garments were often worn by Muslim ascetics; hence the name 'Sūfi,' which came into use before 200 A.H. A synonymous epithet of rarer occurrence is *Musūḥī*, which is derived from the garments of hair-cloth called *mish*, plural *musūḥ* (cf. *Hilyat*, ii. 80^a; *Nafahāt al-uns*, Calcutta, 1859, Nos. 89 and 90). Ascetics of both sexes are described as

wearing a smock (*jubba* or *midrā'a*) of wool; women sometimes added a head-covering and veil (*ḥimār*) of the same material. Sufyān ath-Thaurī (ob. 777-778 A.D.) condemned the wearing of wool as being an innovation (*bid'a*), others on the ground that it was borrowed from Christianity or savoured of ostentation (*Hilyat*, i. 90^a; *Iqd*, Cairo, 1293 A.H., iii. 348 f.; Sha'rānī, *Lawāqih*, 1299 A.H., i. 45, penult.). Abū Sulaimān ad-Dārānī (ob. 830 A.D.) declared that a woollen garment might be worn for economy, or as a travelling dress, but not for religious purposes (*Hilyat*, ii. 171^b). In another place (*ib.* ii. 167^a) he allows the adept, whose heart is purged of all the passions, to wear an 'abā (woollen mantle), 'which is one of the signs of asceticism,' but says that it is safer for him to wear 'two white garments' like ordinary people, so as not to excite remark. Garments of hair (*sha'r*) are often mentioned; they were sometimes worn under a rich dress, e.g. by Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (*Lawāqih*, i. 42. 20 ff.). Some pietists were recognized by their long cloaks (*burnus*, pl. *barānis*; cf. *Iqd*, ii. 291. 7). 'Utba al-Ghulām (ob. circa 780 A.D.) wore two dust-coloured garments—one as a *ridā*, the other as an *izār*—so that he looked like a ploughman (*Hilyat*, i. 37^b). Bishr al-Hāfi (ob. 841-842 A.D.), the well-known ascetic of Baghdād, went to market 'wearing a shabby fur (*farw*), a short boot (*ḥuff*), and a very fine *izār*' (*ib.* ii. 77^a). All this shows that certain kinds of dress were peculiar to ascetics, but that ascetics were not invariably distinguished by a peculiar dress. Concerning the patched frocks (*muragga'āt*), which in course of time superseded the woollen garb of the Sūfis, see art. SŪFIISM.

(b) *Food and fasting*.—Many ascetics attached great importance to eating only what was lawful (*ḥalāl*). Thus Ibrāhīm b. Adham said, 'Let your food be good (*ṭayyib*), and you need not pray by night or fast by day' (*Hilyat*, i. 199^a); and he used to eat clay and earth when he could not get anything above suspicion. Sarī as-Saqāṭī (ob. 867 A.D.) was celebrated for the purity of his diet (*ib.* ii. 247^a); he wished to eat no food that entailed either gratitude to man or chastisement from God, but confessed that he found this impossible (*ib.* ii. 244^a). The legends of the Muslim saints furnish many instances of holy men who were miraculously guarded from eating 'dubious' viands, e.g. such as came from a wedding-feast or had passed through the hands of a government official. It is related of Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (ob. 857 A.D.) that whenever he stretched out his hand to take any food of this sort, he was warned by the twitching of a vein in the tip of one of his fingers (Qushairī, Cairo, 1318 A.H., p. 64, l. 21). Ibrāhīm b. Adham recommended warm bread with olive oil as the best food for ascetics (*Hilyat*, i. 199^a); others favoured bread and salt, gruel made of barley-meal, etc. Some abstained from meat altogether, but this does not seem to have been usual; it was, however, eaten sparingly. Vows of abstinence from particular kinds of food, e.g. carrots or dates, were often made, and were supposed to confer a higher spiritual rank (*Lawāqih*, i. 61. 17 ff.). Besides the obligatory fast of Ramaḍān, voluntary fasts of varying length and severity form an indispensable feature of Muslim asceticism. Their purpose was to mortify the flesh and illuminate the spirit, to procure wisdom and prevent sin. 'He who masters his belly,' said 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zaid (ob. 793 A.D.), 'masters his religion and masters all the virtues' (*Hilyat*, i. 16^a). Bayazīd al-Bistāmī said that he attained to knowledge of God by means of a hungry belly and a naked body (Qushairī, 16. 10). Sahl b. 'Abdallāh at-Tustarī (ob. 896 A.D.) was famous for his fasts.

He held that food should be eaten only to preserve life and reason, not to give strength, and that incapacity to perform one's devotions through weakness arising from want of food was better than the performance of them by one who had eaten his fill (*Ihyā*, Cairo, 1289 A.H., iii. 87 f.). He used to break his fast once in fifteen days (Qushairī, 78. 31), and his name is included by Ghazālī in a list of those who had fasted forty consecutive days (*Ihyā*, iii. 89). Later, Sūfis surpassed his achievements in this line, for, according to Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī (ob. 983-984 A.D.), the man who is Divinely aided (*ṣamadānī*) does not eat once in eighty days (Qushairī, 79. 16).

(c) *Prayer*.—The five canonical prayers incumbent on every Muslim, arduous and exacting as they were, did not satisfy the zealots of the new religion. Authority for an extension of the practice was found in several passages of the Qur'ān where *dhikr* ('praise of God') is mentioned: the faithful are enjoined to praise God frequently (*Qur.* xxxiii. 14). Starting from this command, which does not refer to any special act of ritual, the early ascetics developed a regular service of litanies and devotional exercises: reading of the Qur'ān, repetition of the names of God, reiteration of certain invocations and formulas, such as *Allāh! Allāh!* and *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh!* This *dhikr* the Sūfis regarded as one of the main pillars, nay, the very corner-stone, of practical religion; without constantly performing it no one could attain to God (Qushairī, 119. penult.). Here they may have imitated the Christian Euchites, as Goldziher conjectures (*Vienna Orient. Journ.* vol. xiii. p. 39) in his valuable paper on the early development of Sūfism, to which the writer of the present article is deeply indebted. Even those who granted that ordinary prayer (*ṣalāt*) was the most excellent act of devotion recognized the superiority of *dhikr*, in so far as the latter was not confined to any stated times, and might be continued hour after hour without interruption (Qushairī, 120. 5 from foot). In some cases it was accompanied by acts of penance. Ḥāzīm al-Ḥanafī used to knock his head against the wall of his chamber until it bled (*Hilyat*, ii. 251); and Shiblī (ob. 945-946 A.D.) during his novitiate was accustomed to pray in a dark cellar, and flagellate himself with a bundle of rods whenever he felt that his faculties were not concentrated (Qushairī, 120. 4 ff.). Meetings for the purpose of *dhikr* were held in the Umayyad period—Ḥasan of Basra is said to have presided over them—and seem to have been attended by persons inclined to quietism, who disliked the crude declamations of the *quṣṣās*, or popular preachers (cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, i. 149). The dangers lurking in a perpetual lip-service soon became apparent to the Sūfis themselves; it was discouraged by the Baghdād school, which flourished in the 3rd cent. A.H., because it led to hypocrisy (Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, p. 40). Qushairī (119. last line) insists that *dhikr* with the tongue is subordinate to *dhikr* with the heart, and should be regarded as an instrument whereby the higher and truly effectual *dhikr* is acquired; nevertheless, the latter is incomplete without the former—the adept combines both. See also art. SŪFISM.

(d) *Renunciation and poverty*.—Qushairī, in his chapter on renunciation (*zuhd*), refers to the question whether *zuhd* consists in renouncing what is unlawful (*ḥarām*) or what is lawful (*ḥalāl*). The general opinion was that all Muslims were bound to renounce *ḥarām*, but that renunciation of *ḥalāl* was a merit; this view accords with many passages in the Qur'ān, e.g. 'Say, the goods of this world are little, and the next world is better for those who fear God' (*Qur.* iv. 79). At first, renunciation was understood almost exclusively

in a material sense; the *zāhid* abstained from food, sleep, society, and all harmless pleasures. If a man possessed only one shirt, he might count on being admitted to paradise before his more deserving neighbour who had two (*Tadh. al-aulyā*, i. 47. last line and foll.). But since the ascetics naturally restricted *ḥalāl* to the narrowest possible limits, and condemned everything else as superfluous, it was but a short step to the view that 'nothing in the world is lawful, and therefore there is no true renunciation in renouncing the world' (Qushairī, 67. 11). The sayings of the early Sūfis exhibit a strong bias towards a spiritual conception of *zuhd*. Not that they fasted less, kept fewer vigils, or relaxed their austerities, but they realized that such acts could have no value except as the expression of an inward feeling. Renunciation exists only in the heart (*Hilyat*, ii. 170*); it is the abandonment of all that diverts one from God (Qushairī, 67. 4), and especially the abandonment of 'self.' Self-abnegation, in its practical aspects, which alone concern us here, may be described as trust in God (*tawakkul*) or quietism (*riḍā*), and is closely connected with the doctrine of 'poverty' (*faqr*).

Most Muhammadan treatises on Sūfism allude to the controversy which arose at an early period as to the superiority of poverty or riches (see, e.g., *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, Lahore ed. p. 15, l. 18 ff.; *Ḥayāt al-qulūb*, printed on the margins of *Qūt al-qulūb*, ii. 161. 15 ff.). It was debated whether the rich man who was blessed with wealth and who rendered thanks to God for it did not represent a higher ideal than the poor man who endured want uncomplainingly. Some argued that wealth (*ghanā*), being an attribute of God, should be preferred to poverty, which is an attribute of man, and cited the Prophet's saying: 'The upper hand is better than the lower,' i.e. 'to give is better than to receive.' The leading Sūfis, however, with a few exceptions, declared in favour of poverty, quoting such traditions as these: 'O God, let me live poor, and die poor, and rise from the dead amongst the poor'; 'the poor of my people will enter Paradise five hundred years before the rich'; 'poverty is my pride' (*al-faqrū fahri*). What poverty meant may be gathered from a saying of Sari as-Saqāṭī (ob. 867 A.D.): 'Do not take any thing from any one, nor ask any thing of any one, nor have with you any thing that you can give to any one' (*Hilyat*, ii. 244*). This counsel of perfection was based on the theory of *tawakkul* ('trust in God'), which the early Sūfis carried to extreme lengths (see Goldziher's investigation of the subject in the *Vienna Orient. Journ.* vol. xiii. pp. 41-56). They define *tawakkul* as renunciation of personal initiative and volition, leaving all to God, being entirely passive, like a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares it for burial. Applying this doctrine to matters of practical life, the true *mutawakkil* could not make any effort, direct or indirect, to obtain the means of subsistence, or admit any thought of providing for the morrow. He could not beg, work for hire, or ply any trade or handicraft, but had to depend for his daily bread on what God, 'to whom belong the treasures of earth and heaven,' sent to him as a gift from Himself, or delivered to him by the hands of his fellow-creatures. He was then said to gain his livelihood *mina 'l-futūḥ*, i.e. through an 'opening' which God made for him. The ancient Sūfis, who commonly adhered to these principles and hence are often called *al-mutawakkilūn*, seem to have been influenced by Christian teaching (Mt 6²⁵⁻³⁴, Lk 12²²⁻³⁰; see Goldziher, *loc. cit.* p. 45). In later times, when the theory had broken down, the same term was still used to denote a class of Sūfis who wandered to and fro, living 'on trust' (*alā 't-tawakkul*). It

was customary for such men to make the pilgrimage to Mecca 'without provision' (*bilā zād*), and in some cases they considered their vow of *tawakkul* to have been violated if they extracted a thorn from their feet or cried out for help on falling into a well. But, of course, the facts of nature were too strong for the doctrinaires. Living 'on trust,' if strictly interpreted, involved a serious risk of death by starvation. That some *mutawakkilūn* perished in this way is likely enough, and may possibly have evoked the assertion, which is ascribed to Sufyān ath-Thauri (*Hilyat*, i. 81*), that those who refuse to beg, and die of hunger in consequence, go to Hell. Gradually the Sūfis themselves came round to the opinion that *tawakkul* was not invalidated by seeking a livelihood (*takassub*). A similar conclusion was reached as regards the question whether a *mutawakkil* might take medicine or not; but there were always individuals who refused to compromise with their conscience. Goldziher (*loc. cit.* p. 53) mentions the existence in Persia, in the 4th cent. A.H., of a numerous sect who rejected medical aid. Their leader, Abū Ḥair b. Babā, was a Christian physician, and, like modern Christian Scientists, he recommended his patients to trust in God. It is curious that a theory which forbade beggary, or allowed it only as a last resource, should actually have produced swarms of able-bodied mendicants who made their *tawakkul* an excuse for living on charity.

3. Development of Sūfi asceticism in the Middle Ages.—(a) *Monastic institutions*.—The Prophet's saying, 'There is no monasticism in Islām,' was not falsified, on any large scale at least, until several centuries had elapsed. Most of the early Sūfis led secluded lives with a few friends and companions of the same way of thinking. Many of them were married, and some had the full legal complement of wives, like Ḥātim al-Aṣamm of Balkh, who died in A.D. 851 (*Hilyat*, i. 213^b). Bishr al-Ḥafī, although himself unmarried, is said to have acknowledged that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who had followed the *sunna* approving matrimony, was his superior in this respect (*Qūt al-qulūb*, ii. 241). Nevertheless, the advocates of celibacy—for they did not always practise what they preached—soon began to make themselves heard. Ḥasan of Baṣra said that, when God wills the welfare of a man in this world, He does not occupy him with wife and child (*Lawāiqih*, i. 38. 10). According to Ribāḥ b. Amr al-Qaisī, no one attains the rank of the elect (*ṣiddiqūn*) until he leaves his wife a widow and his children fatherless (*ib. j.* 61. 4). Abū Sulaimān ad-Dārānī spoke of marriage as a backsliding and a concession to worldliness; it might be the better state for those who could endure its cares, but only the single man (*waḥid*) tasted the full sweetness of devotion, and was able to give his whole heart to God (*Qūt al-qulūb*, ii. 247). These views, conflicting with the ancient Muslim doctrine that a man's duties towards his family are quite as important as those which concern his faith, never gained universal acceptance. Celibacy is seldom demanded by Muhammadan religious orders as a condition of membership.

We have but little information as to the origin and growth of monasticism in the early period of Islām. The first monastery (*ḥanaqāh*) for Sūfis is said to have been founded at Ramla in Palestine by a Christian dignitary (*Nafahāt*, 34), apparently before A.D. 800. Sitting in a *ḥanaqāh* was condemned, as equivalent to begging, by Abū Turāb an-Nakshabī, who died in A.D. 859 (*Hilyat*, ii. 222^b). The year 200 A.H. (=A.D. 815) is named in two fictitious traditions (*Qūt al-qulūb*, ii. 239) as the date after which celibacy would be permissible to all Muslims, and would be adopted by the best men amongst them; and this prophecy after the

event seems to mark the beginning of Muslim monasticism with approximate correctness. It is probable, however, that the development of organized monastic institutions throughout the Muhammadan empire belongs to a much later period. In reading the older works on Sūfism, e.g. the *Qūt al-qulūb*, the *Hilyat al-auliyā*, and the *Risāla* of Qushairi (all of which were written before A.D. 1050), one is struck by the rarity of any reference to monasteries; yet the celebrated Sūfis of the 3rd and 4th cents. A.H. generally gathered round them a circle of disciples, who would naturally have dwelt in religious houses, if such had been available. Maqrizī (*Hilyat*, ii. 414. 3) says that *ḥanaqāhs* were introduced into Islām during the 5th cent. A.H., which corresponds to the 11th cent. of the Christian era. We may accept this statement in the sense that Sūfi monasteries, the members of which lived together for ascetic purposes under the direction of an abbot, or *shaikh*, first became numerous and widely spread during the above-mentioned epoch. Maqrizī's observation agrees with a passage in Qazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 241. 3 from foot), where Abū Saïd b. Abi Ḥair, who died in A.D. 1049 (not about A.D. 815, as was erroneously asserted by De Sacy in *Journal des Savants*, 1821, p. 725, and after him by Dozy and von Kremer), is described as the founder of Sūfi monasticism and rules of discipline. During the next two hundred years (A.D. 1050–1250) the system was further organized and extended by the various Dervish orders—Adawīs, Qādirīs, Rifāʿīs, Mevlevīs, etc.—which arose in rapid succession.

The well-known treatise on Sūfism, entitled '*Awārif al-Māʾarif*,' by Shihāb ad-Dīn 'Umar as-Suhrawardī (ob. 1234 A.D.), supplies many interesting details concerning Muslim monastic life (see especially chapters 12–18 and 48–52). Speaking of the relation between the Shaikh and the disciple (*murīd*), Suhrawardī asserts that the latter becomes part of the Shaikh, just as in natural generation the son is part of the father. 'This,' he says, 'is a spiritual birth, according to the words of Jesus: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God"' (Jn 3^a). The disciple was usually invested by the Shaikh with a patched frock (*hirqa*) as a sign that he submitted absolutely to the Shaikh's authority; in this ceremony the hand of the Shaikh was considered to represent the hand of the Prophet. While the disciple remained in constant association with the Shaikh and under his care, he passed through the time of 'sucking' (*irtidāʾ*), and it behoved him not to depart without leave, but to wait until the Shaikh decided that the moment of 'weaning' (*fitām*) had arrived. 'The ascetics of old,' Suhrawardī continues, 'desired solitude on account of the dangers to which society exposed them, but Sūfis who live in convents overcome these dangers by the strength of their devotion and the soundness of their spiritual state. They are as one body animated by the single aim of dwelling together in complete accord both outwardly and inwardly; this is a unique characteristic which distinguishes them from every other sect in Islām.' The convent (*ribāt*) comprised men of all ages, and consisted of private cells (*zāwiya*) as well as an assembly-room (*bait al-jamāʿa*). The old men, Suhrawardī thinks, should be allowed to stay in their cells, where they can sleep and rest and do as they please; but, for disciplinary reasons, it is advisable that the young should sit in the assembly-room, holding their breath and keeping their senses under control; if, however, a novice is disturbed by talking and noise, he should be sent to the Shaikh's private apartment, that his attention may not be distracted, while the Shaikh himself maintains order in the assembly-room. Novices should be en-

ployed in 'service' (*hidma*) and sent to help their brethren who are engaged in devotion and contemplation, and who alone are excused from menial tasks. Service is a pious work, but the Sūfis do not approve of asking any one who is not a Sūfi to serve them; for 'they are men, and things proceed from them, in the course of human nature, which are objectionable to a stranger ignorant of their aims.' Their refusal to associate with such a person is due to respect for his feelings, not because they deem themselves superior to any Muslim. The food of the monks was either provided by endowment or procured by begging. Only those were entitled to partake of it who were so occupied with God as not to be capable of earning their livelihood, or who were excused on the score of age, or who were authorized by the Shaikh to receive it in return for their labour. Unless the terms of the endowment necessitated a certain indulgence, it was a universal rule in Sūfi asceticism that no idler should eat the food of the convent. Suhrawardī recommends a forty days' seclusion (*arbaʿīniya*) for prayer and fasting once a year. Solitude, he insists, has for its object a moral purification: it must not be sought on account of the visions and ecstasies which sometimes result from it. The disciple who goes into retirement (*ḥalwa*) should strip himself of the world and discard all that he possesses, and, after seeing that his clothes and his prayer-mat are clean, he should pray two *rakʿas* and repent of his sins with weeping and humility. He ought not to leave his cell except for the public and Friday prayers (*ṣalāt al-jamāʿa wa-ṣalāt al-jumʿa*); on these occasions he should continue his *dhikr* and pay as little attention as possible to what he hears and sees, in order that he may not fall into temptation. During his retirement, he should perform ablutions regularly, and sleep only when overpowered by fatigue, and never cease from repeating his *dhikr* until he grows weary; then he must con it over in his heart, without any movement of his tongue (see *ʿAwārif*, chs. 26-28).

(b) *Ascetic systems*.—European writers on Sūfism are often inclined to identify it with pantheism and to lay undue stress on its transcendental flights, while they ignore its ascetic and ethical foundation. This is the 'path' (*ṭarīqa*) which every Sūfi must traverse before he can hope to reach the goal of his journey, and which is expounded at great length in the *Qūt al-quṭb* by Abū Ṭalīb al-Makki (ob. 996 A.D.) and other manuals written with a didactic purpose. In such works the different 'stations' (*maqāmāt*) of the 'path' are carefully mapped out, and the doctrines pertaining to each are explained and illustrated by means of Qur'anic texts, traditions of the Prophet, and sayings or anecdotes of famous saints. All systems of Sūfi asceticism are based on the same materials; hence it is not surprising that one is very like another externally, however much they may diverge in spirit according to the author's individual point of view. It is not possible to describe any of them in detail here, but their broad outlines can be exhibited if we briefly examine the systematic treatment of the subject by Ghazālī (ob. 1111 A.D.) in his *Ihyā*, which is a classical text-book of orthodox Sūfism. Ghazālī does not address himself to Sūfis alone; his aim is the revivification (*ihyā*) of the Muhammadan religion, and he has no desire to make every Muslim a monk. Consequently, in the first half of the work he deals with the ordinary religious duties of purification, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage; then with supererogatory acts of devotion, such as recitation of the Qur'an, praise of God (*dhikr*), supplication (*duʿā*), and vigils; and discusses exhaustively the relation of religion to social life. Many of these topics, though

bearing a wider application, belong to the preliminary stage—the 'law' (*shariʿa*), as it is technically named—of Sūfi asceticism, but in the third and fourth volumes of the *Ihyā* Ghazālī unfolds the method adopted by the Sūfis for attaining spiritual perfection. This method falls into two parts, which may be called *purgative* and *unitive*, inasmuch as the former purifies the heart by subduing the passions, while the latter leads to union with God by the acquisition of virtues and faculties. The principles of the *purgative* way are summarized as follows (*Ihyā*, iii. 74. 15 ff.):—Before entering on his novitiate, the aspirant must renounce four things: wealth, reputation, mechanical conformity (*taqlīd*), and sin. He will then need a Shaikh to direct him. The Shaikh, to whom he must cling 'like a blind man on the bank of a river to his guide,' will provide him with four weapons against the assaults of Satan, viz. solitude, silence, fasting, and sleeplessness. Now begins what is generally a long inward struggle with the lusts and passions. When these have been vanquished, the novice should retire to his cell and perform only the obligatory acts of devotion, and continually repeat some *dhikr*, such as *Allāh! Allāh!* or *Subḥāna'llāh!* ('Glory to God!'), until the essential meaning of it has filled his heart. He must strive to banish every thought that is not of God, and to repel the evil suggestions with which Satan plies him. Whatever passes in his mind he should communicate to the Shaikh. Then, if the Shaikh knows that his pupil is intelligent and can be trusted rightly to apprehend the Divine reality (*ḥaqīqat*), he will bid him meditate assiduously, in order that illumination may enter his heart. Herein it behoves the Shaikh to exercise the greatest possible care, for this is a perilous matter, in which many novices, going beyond their depth, are utterly lost. The weak should be confined to what they are capable of understanding, e.g. simple faith and practical devotion. Those who occupy themselves with meditation have to beware of many pitfalls, such as vainglory, hypocrisy, delight in visions and miracles. After this *résumé* of the *purgative* way, Ghazālī treats in ample detail of the various passions and vices, from lust and gluttony to spiritual pride, their nature, symptoms, diagnosis, and the remedies which are most effectual in each case (*Ihyā*, iii. 78-392). Finally, in the fourth volume of his work, he expounds the *unitive* way under the following heads: (1) repentance, (2) patience and thanksgiving, (3) fear and hope, (4) poverty and renunciation, (5) unification (*taḥḥid*) and trust in God, (6) love, desire, intimacy, and acquiescence, (7) intention, sincerity, and truth, (8) contemplation (*murāqaba*) and self-examination (*muhāsaba*), (9) reflexion (*tafakkur*), (10) meditation on death and what comes after it. Similar scales of ascent occur in every system of Sūfi theosophy (see SUFFISM), and are possibly of Buddhistic origin (cf. Goldziher, in *JRAS*, 1904, p. 139 ff.). At any rate, Buddhism can be shown to have exerted a considerable influence on the practice and theory of mediæval Muslim asceticism; e.g. the use of rosaries and the custom of holding the breath were borrowed from Buddhist monks, whose example must also have powerfully affected the monastic ideals and institutions that reached a high degree of development in this period (cf. Goldziher, *loc. cit.* p. 125 ff.; von Kremer, *Cultur-gesch. Streifzüge*, p. 45 ff.).

4. *Philosophical asceticism*.—Suhrawardī (*ʿAwārif*, iii. 194 ff.) distinguishes the asceticism of the mystics, which illuminates the heart, from that practised by philosophers and materialists with the object of purifying the senses and thus facilitating the acquirement of the intellectual sciences: the latter, he says, leads to heresy. It assumes its

most interesting form in the so-called *zindiqs*, a name given by the Muslims to various kinds of heretics, particularly those who rejected positive religion and acknowledged only the moral law (for the derivation and meaning of *zindiq*, cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1902, i. 159 ff.; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 1907, 372 ff.; and art. ATHEISM [Muh.]). Renunciation (*zuhd*) was characteristic of many on whom this epithet was bestowed. Some of them were undoubtedly influenced by Manichæan and Buddhist ideas, but Muhammadan orthodoxy was apt to brand as 'free-thought' (*zandaqa*) any moral creed that was not built entirely on a dogmatic basis. Abu 'l-'Atāhiya (ob. 828 A.D.), though his poems are full of allusions to Paradise, Hell, and the Resurrection, was called a *zindiq* by his contemporaries, apparently because they suspected him of being a moralist in disguise; and they might have urged, with truth, that the prevailing tone of his poetry is ethical and reflective rather than religious. He sings the praises of asceticism, which he had adopted professionally in consequence, it is said, of a disappointment in love. 'The noblest of men,' he declares, 'is a king in the garb of a beggar,' i.e. an ascetic who is independent of the world and whose passions no longer enslave him; and again, 'those who are content with their lot are the truly free.' With much better reason the charge of heresy was brought against another celebrated Muslim poet, Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (see MA'ARRI). He too retired from a world where he had found only sorrow and failure. His asceticism, however, presents some peculiar features which it is possible, though hardly probable (cf. *JRAS*, 1902, p. 291), that he borrowed from the Indian Jains. He held that it was wrong to kill or injure any living creature, even a flea. His diet was strictly vegetarian; he abstained from fish and eggs as well as milk and honey. He wore a dress of undyed wool and wooden shoes, on the ground that no animal should be slaughtered to make leather of its skin. His celibacy was not monastic in character, but was the result of his belief that the best fate is non-existence, and that one ought to shrink from multiplying the misery of life. To pretend that such opinions and practices are typical of the moral philosophers of Islām would be unjust to Ma'arri's eccentric and original genius. He resembled some of them in making asceticism an affair of the conscience and the understanding, an ingredient of the highest virtue instead of a stepping-stone to the Absolute. Others, like the Iḥwān as-Safā, or 'Brothers of Purity,' inculcate obedience to the Divine world-law and love of God, which 'gains in this life serenity of soul, freedom of heart, and peace with the whole world, and in the life to come ascension to Eternal Light.'

5. Conclusion: the Dervish orders. — As was said at the outset, this article is limited in scope, and deals only with the origin and main developments of Muslim asceticism. Nearly every Muhammadan sect could contribute something to a detailed history of the subject, and there are abundant Oriental sources for such a work, but in the present state of our knowledge a certain sketchiness is unavoidable. European writers have confined their researches almost exclusively to the modern Dervish orders, in which Sūfī asceticism and mysticism are carried as far as human nature can go. Some were founded before the Mongol Invasion (A.D. 1258), but since the 14th cent. they have branched out in all directions from Senegal in the west to China in the east. While basing their doctrine on the principles of mediæval Sūfism, they have evolved a complex organization, extended the old practices, and introduced new ones. In some cases, too, their spirit and aims have been altered by the

influence of environment and political circumstances. As regards the ascetic training which they impose on their members, naturally each order has its own rules, but they generally agree in the following points: (1) an elaborate ceremony of initiation, which is sometimes preceded by a long and arduous apprenticeship; (2) the wearing of a peculiar costume; (3) for neophytes, a severe discipline of solitude, prayer, fasting, and other austerities; (4) the immoderate use of *dhikr*, with the help of music, dancing, and diverse physical stimulants, to excite ecstasy; (5) belief in extraordinary spiritual powers vouchsafed to adepts and ecstatic persons, which they display by chewing live coals, charming snakes, predicting future events, etc.; (6) veneration, approaching to deification, of the Shaikh, or head of the order. If it is true that in most of their practices and beliefs the modern Dervishes had already been anticipated by the Sūfīs of the Middle Ages, from whom they are lineally descended, it is no less true that they have vulgarized Sūfism by surrounding it with a network of mechanical routine, by exalting its thaumaturgy at the expense of its theosophy, and by associating its deepest mysteries with the performance of an orgiastic exercise. See article DERVISH.

LITERATURE. — Besides the references given in the article, students may consult, for early Muslim asceticism: von Kremer, *Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, 1868, p. 52 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, 1903, pp. 172-180; R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 1907, pp. 224-235; for Sūfī asceticism in the Middle Ages: Miguel Asín Palacios, *Algazel, dogmatica, moral, ascetica*, 1901; for philosophical asceticism: Goldziher, 'Sāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs und das Zindikthum während der Regierung des Chalifen al-Mahdī,' in *Transactions of the Ninth Congress of Orientalists*, 1893, vol. II, p. 104 ff.; Dieterici, *Die Philosophie der Araber im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, 1861-79; and for the asceticism of the Dervish orders: J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, 1868; Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, 1897.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

ASCETICISM (Persian). — An essential part of the meaning of the Zarathustrian reform, viz. the care of cattle and pasture land, is given in 'The Complaint of the Soul of the Kine' in the *Ahuna-vairī Gāthā*, *Yasna* xxix. This zeal for economies being inseparably connected with the new faith, the Prophet in his religion placed a distinct value on earthly goods and productive work, and introduced that strongly anti-ascetic tendency which separates the Avesta so widely from the higher Indian religion.

1. The Avesta moral code is not only negative ('Thou shalt not,' etc.), but also contains positive duties. In its origin it is the ethics of cattle-breeding. Zarathushtra himself was the first 'meadow-keeping cattle rearer' (*vāstryō-fsuyas*, *Yasht* xiii. 89), as well as the first priest and the first warrior. The *Gāthās* do not know any but pasture land. By the time of the later Avesta agriculture has appeared. *Vendidad* iii. mentions the five places which are the happiest on this earth: (1) where one of the faithful is worshipping; (2) where one of the faithful erects a house with a priest therein, with cattle, a wife, children, and good herds, and where all these treasures of life are prospering; (3) where most corn and fruit trees are cultivated, and where water is led into a poorly watered soil (a later glosser has added, 'and where dryness is brought to a watery soil,' ditching being later than artificial irrigation); (4) where flocks and herds increase most; and (5) where flocks and herds yield most urine. The life-long fight against the demons means cultivating the ground, sheltering the plants from drought and frost, spreading cultivation over land strenuously conquered from the wild. Activity has always been one of the first principles of Zarathustrianism.

Among the later writings of the Parsis, *Sad Dar* lxxx. 10 inculcates: 'Every good work which thou art able to do to-day do not postpone for to-morrow, and accomplish with thine own hand the counsel of thine own soul'; and in *Gangeshayagan* (§ 126) one-third of the day (and night) is given to religious duties, one-third to the cultivation of the ground (the eight hours' working day!), and one-third to eating and sleeping.

2. The following objections are raised against ascetic principles:—

(1) Wife and children make a man superior to him who is not married (*Vend.* iv. 47). A young woman without children needs a husband, just as uncultivated ground needs cultivation. The good husband receives fruit from both (*Vend.* iii. 24-25).

Zarathushtra is of Divine origin—the heavenly glory (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Zoroastrian], vol. i. p. 205 f.) entered his grandmother (*Dinkart* vii. ii. 2 ff., 14; viii. xiv. 1). But nowhere is an attempt made to eliminate his father in the flesh. Such an idea would be opposed to the Mazdayasnian ideal of holiness. The psychological relation of the union of Zarathushtra's parents in *Dinkart* vii. ii. 48-52 may be a criterion:

'Both have embraced the first time with desire for a son, and the demons shuddered out unto them, in the villainous speech of sinfulness, thus: "Why shouldst thou act like this, vile Pörushaspō?" whereupon they started up like people who were ashamed.' The same experience was repeated a second and a third time. 'And they spoke with one another about it, and continued at this duty, and accomplished it, saying: "We will not so stop without accomplishing something, not even though both Rāk and Nōdar should arrive here together." Then that manchild, who was the righteous Zarathušht, became complete . . . in the womb of his mother.'

The Mazdayasnian has to recite the *Ahuna-Vairya* (q.v.) and the *Ashem* when he goes in to his wife (*Dinkart* ix. xix. 8).

(2) The man who owns a house is superior to him who does not (*Vend.* iv. 47).

(3) Fasting is a sin. Without eating no one has strength for a vigorous piety, for cultivating the ground, for begetting strong children (*Vend.* iii. 33). The man who nourishes and develops his body through the eating of meat takes in more of *vohūman* ('good thought') than he who does not (*Vend.* iv. 48). The man who teaches or practises fasting is an *ashemaogha*, a destroyer of piety and of the holy law, and deserves punishment (*Vend.* iv. 49).

A well-known passage of the Parsi treatise *Sad Dar* lxxxiii. forbids fasting: 'In our religion it is a sin to pass a day without eating. To us fasting means to fast from sin with the eye, with the tongue, with the ear, with the hand, with the foot.'

According to al-Bīrūnī, the person who fasted was considered by the Zarathushtrians as a sinner, and had to feed a certain number of men as an expiation (*Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 217).

(4) All practices of mortification are prohibited. The Pahlavi paraphrase of the *Varshtmānsar Nask* of the Sasanian Avesta attributes the self-tortures prescribed by Mani to the Evil One (*Dinkart* ix. 39).

The ascetics whose doctrines are opposed in the Pahlavi writings can be identified, even if they are not expressly mentioned, as Mani in the Pahlavi *Varshtmānsar Nask* and Mazdak in the Pahlavi commentary to *Vend.* iv. 49 ('Mazdak, son of Bāmdāt'). The chief form of asceticism opposed besides Manichæism was Christianity. During the persecutions of the Sasanians, marriage was not infrequently offered as an alternative to death.

The ascetics referred to in the *Vendidad* may have been Christians (Darmesteter) or Manichæans (Spiegel). But it seems equally probable that ascetic doctrines were well known and practised

in Iran before them. The Babylonian religion had unmarried brides of gods. In India the great ascetic methods of salvation were ancient.

3. Penalties, imposed for offences against the Avesta law, often illustrate the anti-ascetic tendency, inasmuch as those punishments themselves do not consist in sufferings, but in positive useful work. The requirements of penance and agriculture are fulfilled at the same time. In some Avesta fragments of the manuscript *Tahmuras* and in some of the book of ritual ceremonies, *Nirangistān*, the degree of penalty incurred partly by omissions or smaller inadvertencies in the ritual, and appointed to be three cuts with the lash (*sraoshō-karana*, 'the instrument of obedience'), is commuted into a day's work in the fields (Fragments of *Tahmuras*, xii. 11, 12; Fragments of *Nirangistān*, 42, 43, 69, 83, 109; *AMG* xxiv. 55 f., 105 ff.). If the penance inflicted by *Vendidad* xiv. upon the man who has killed an otter belongs to the ideals never realized, it is nevertheless very characteristic. He must, among other penalties, kill thousands of snakes, lizards, frogs, ants, worms, and flies. He must give to good men the instruments of a priest, of a warrior, and of a farmer. He must make ditches for irrigation, and make a gift to good men of cultivated ground, a byre, and a beautiful bedstead. He must give a young virgin as wife to a good man. He must make a gift of small cattle. He has to bring up twice seven puppies, and make twice seven bridges over ditches. He must cleanse twice nine dogs from vermin, and let twice nine Mazdayasians get a good square meal of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine (cf. quotation from al-Bīrūnī under 2 (3) above, and *Vend.* xviii. 73-74, where the killing of snakes, frogs, and ants, and the building of bridges over water belong to the punishment for sexual intercourse at forbidden times). All animals considered as bad and noxious are called *khrafstra*, and it is a most meritorious work to kill them. This is very different from the view of Lao-tse, from Indian, and from mediæval Sūfi and Christian asceticism and mysticism.

LITERATURE.—Darmesteter *AMG* xxii. 61 ff.; E. Lehmann, *Zarathushtra* (1899-1902), ii.; Henry, *Le Parsisme* (1906); Rastamji Edulji Dastoor Peshotan Sanjana, *Zarathushtra and Zarathushtrianism in the Avesta* (1906); Söderblom, 'Du génie du Mazdéisme,' in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez* (1896).

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

ASCETICISM (Roman).—I. For the purposes of this article 'asceticism' may be taken roughly to mean 'self-discipline, prompted either by the authority of religion or by philosophic reflexion upon life, or by a combination of both these forces. The early Roman religion, so far as we can trace its features, was not to any appreciable extent swayed by the yearnings which in the Orient gave rise to asceticism at a time immemorially remote. The primitive Romans deemed that their shadowy and impalpable divinities were under compact with the community whose exclusive property they were. They asked of their worshippers no burdensome price for the favour which they accorded. The sacrifices required by them were trifling, though the ritual of circumstance and language connected with them was complicated, and needed to be carried out with the utmost precision. The idea of a taint or impurity, displeasing to the gods, and attaching to individuals, to masses of men, or to places, and to be cleansed away only by purificatory ceremony, is old enough in Roman religion. But the expiation was easy, and called for little in the nature of self-suppression. Some of the primitive servants of the gods, particularly the Flamen of Juppiter and the Vestal Virgins, were subjected to strong ceremonial restrictions in their lives. But these resembled the religious tabus prevalent among backward races, rather than any genuine

ascetic discipline. The Roman *feriae*, or public religious celebrations, though requiring a cessation of labour and ordinary occupations, were, for the most part, joyous in character. Even the services to appease the dead and the powers of the nether world, or to avert the wrath of heaven as declared by prodigies, were not accompanied by practices of an ascetic character.

2. It is probable that the idea of self-sacrifice as an element in religion was first made conspicuous to the Romans by some of the forms of worship which were imported from without into the Roman State. The rare traces of human sacrifice at Rome in obedience to superstition or religion may safely be referred to a foreign origin. Such an elementary ascetic form as the *fast* was not regarded by Varro as belonging to the real Roman ritual, but as a feature of the *Græcus ritus*. The earliest mention of it is in a fragment of the *Bellum Punicum* of Nævius (quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 197 M: 'res divas edicit, prædicit castus'). The special name for a fast, *castus* (a noun), is of doubtful derivation. The adjective *castus* implied originally purity achieved not by self-discipline but by ceremonial observance of no very exacting nature.

3. Such discipline as the early Roman underwent was not self-imposed or required by religion, but was laid upon him by his country. There was no limit to the sacrifices which she might demand of him; but only in rare cases had these a religious significance. This was particularly true of the ceremony called *devotio*, by which a commander in the field, using a solemn formula, vowed himself to death, thereby binding the gods to bestow the victory on his army (Livy, viii. 6-10). But even in such circumstances, if the enemy failed to kill the willing victim, it was possible, in true Roman fashion, to cheat the gods by burying a human image and raising a mound over it.

4. We must look, therefore, for traces of asceticism to those cults which Rome and the West adopted from Greece and the East. The fast (*castus* or *jejunium*) enjoined upon a deity's worshippers first appears in connexion with Ceres. Although her name is Latin, all her ritual in historic times was Greek, and her station in the official religion was first assigned to her in the earliest days of the Republic by the custodians of the Sibylline books, who controlled the immigration of alien divinities. Her priestesses were Greeks brought from the towns of lower Italy (Cicero, *pro Balbo*, 55). As she became a chief patroness of the plebeians and the poor, her cult grew in popularity, and new services were grafted on the old. In B.C. 191 a fast in imitation of a Greek *νηστεία* was instituted in her honour, and was celebrated annually on Oct. 4. By a paradox not uncommon in the history of religion, Ceres, who bestowed the boon of bread, was honoured by abstinence from bread (Fest. p. 154; Arnob. v. 16). The fast may also have indicated a participation in the sorrow of the mother (Ceres-Demeter) for the loss of her child (Libera-Persephone). Also in August a vigil was maintained during nine nights by women worshippers, and was accompanied by a strict rule of chastity. This led to Ceres being regarded as a divinity who presided over divorce, though she was commonly reckoned as one of the patronesses of wedlock. An inscription found at Bologna, and of at least as early a date as 200 B.C., seems to point to a *castus* by which Juno Lucina and Jupiter were propitiated (Ritschl, *Prisc. Lat. Monumenta*, Suppl. 11, 12).

5. A few years before the time at which the *jejunium Cereris* was introduced, the Magna Mater, the Great Mother of the gods, who dwelt especially on Mount Ida, was officially welcomed at Rome. This was due to the superstition which was gener-

ated in the minds of the people by the disasters of the Second Punic War, when the Roman gods seemed insufficient to sustain the Roman power, and a yearning arose for aid from the gods of other lands. The formless stone, which in the temple of the Great Mother at Pessinus in Galatia was venerated as her type, was brought to Rome and enshrined on the Palatine. The ritual of the goddess was frenzied and orgiastic. For the first time self-mutilation was accepted by authority at Rome as pleasing to Heaven. The favourite of the Great Mother, commemorated in her ceremonies, was the mythical Attis, who gave his name to the weird poem of Catullus. At first the priests of the goddess were imported from her original home, as their name (*Galli*) indicated, and Romans were forbidden to take office under her. But as early as B.C. 77 a breach of the rule took place, and during the Imperial period the priests and priestesses were all Roman. The worship became more and more elaborated as time went on, and it grew in popularity till it spread far and wide in the West.

6. Closely connected with the Magna Mater was the great rite of the *Taurololium*, with its minor form, the *Criobolium* (qq.v.). Its history and nature are in several respects obscure, but its essence was that the adherent of the goddess should be penetrated with a sense of impurity, of which he is rid by being drenched with the blood of a slain bull or ram. A famous inscription (*CIL* vi. 510) relates how, after undergoing the *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, a worshipper 'was born again for eternal life' (*renatus in æternum*). This ritual sprang up in the 2nd cent. A.D., and its earliest traceable home was the Vatican mount, where St. Peter's now stands. The fame of this ceremonial is significant of that great change which passed over the Western world during and after the 1st cent. A.D., when the passage was made from general scepticism to general belief and superstition, and a curious sense of guilt in the face of heaven became prevalent, with a longing to find means for purging it away. Renunciation and the repression of desire were to some extent demanded by all the worships of the East which encountered this changed spirit and endeavoured to satisfy it. The satisfaction offered was, of course, to a large extent ceremonial and magical, and sometimes, to our ideas, flagrantly unethical. But the Eastern cults in their westward march dropped most of their baser features, and, on the whole, introduced new and better conceptions of Divine power. It was possible for speculating Romans to identify the Magna Mater and also Bellona,* whose respectability in Asia Minor was not beyond question, with the divinized idea of Virtue.

7. As is well known, the soldiers who served Rome, whether Romans or aliens, and passed from land to land, were greatly instrumental in carrying westward the Eastern cults. Some of these failed for a time to obtain authoritative recognition, and were merely tolerated by Government (with occasional suppression), because of their acceptability to the people at large. But by the 3rd cent. the Roman Emperors practically abandoned the attempt to hurl back the Oriental deities who were invading Italy and the capital of the empire. A cult which long remained unofficially popular was that of the Cappadocian divinity Mā, a form of the Great Mother, whose acquaintance the Roman soldiers made when Sulla penetrated into the country of the goddess. We have in Strabo (p. 535) a reference to her temple at Comana, with 6000 servants attached, whose forms of veneration were often far

* A Cappadocian goddess who must not be confused with the Roman deity of the same name (cf. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*, Paris, 1907, p. 66 f.).

from repntable. She was identified by the Romans with the old Italian goddess Bellona. The populace of the West became familiar with the spectacle of hierophants in procession with strange garb, who cut themselves with the double axe and sprinkled the mob with their blood, while they uttered frantic prophecies. The priests wandered about making collections, like the begging friars of the Middle Ages.

8. Egyptian divinities, especially Isis, early made their way into the Greek districts of Italy and into Etruria. The cult of Isis ultimately had extraordinary ramifications all over the Empire, but particularly in the West, and it exercised an especial fascination over women. Stringent bodily abstinence and a sort of penance were marked features of her worship, which took upon it manifold forms. Its elaborated ritual, its perpetual services carried on (as few were) day by day, its mystical character, its discipline preceding initiation in ascending grades, the duties which its ceremonies provided for the multitude, as well as for the priests, and the brotherhoods in which the worshippers were united and in some sort fenced off from the outer world—all these characteristics proved strongly attractive to the lower classes, so that Christians of the earlier centuries saw in Isis a formidable enemy of Christ. And she contributed, indeed, to Western culture elements which penetrated into the texture of the Church. Her worship was at first regarded with disfavour by the Government, but it advanced irrepressibly, as the literature of the Augustan age and later abundantly proves.

9. There was also an influx of deities from Syria. The *Dea Syria* had close affinities with the Magna Mater and Bellona, and the priests and worshippers of these three heavenly beings were often seen in company, particularly in the last age of Paganism, when a dim consciousness of one great God beyond and above the separate divinities became prevalent. Another immigrant from Syria was the Sun-god, who played a great part in the reign of Elagabalus and later. But more important than these was the mighty Persian deity Mithra, often identified with the Sun-god. The strongly developed discipline, the advancement of the worshipper in mystic fellowship from grade to grade, and the community of the sacred brotherhoods rendered this cult highly fascinating to the West. Even in barbaric regions never wholly Romanized, numerous altars dedicated to Mithra and other traces of his worship have been found (see article MITHRAISM).

10. These new forms of worship supplied to the Italic peoples elements which were wanting in the indigenous religions—the satisfaction which comes of self-sacrifice for heaven's sake, the sensation of mystical awe and an elevation of soul born of intercommunion with the deity, also oftentimes a hope of life in a world beyond the grave. In the hard primitive life of the early Italian farmer the lack of these elements was not felt, but the expanded life of later times welcomed their advent. Mysteries of a Greek type, with symbolic ceremonies partly reminiscent of religion, partly embodying ideas that originated in the philosophic schools, seem to have begun to spread to the Italic races as early as the days of the Punic Wars. To these mysteries ascetic practices were often attached. How ready the soil was to receive and develop the seeds of these new devotions was shown by the rapid spread of the movement called by the Roman Government the 'Bacchanalian conspiracy,' which was violently suppressed in B.C. 186. The Bacchic mysteries, taking root in the Greek districts of Italy, drew into connexion with them multitudes of Italic race and large numbers of Roman citizens. Many thousands were executed

by authority of the senate, after inquiry which recalls the drumhead court-martial, in defiance of the laws which guaranteed fair trial to the Roman burgess. The criminal nature of the 'conspiracy' was assumed, but never proved. The secrecy of the worship, then a strange and unfamiliar feature, produced an atmosphere of panic, generating visions of crime such as arose in the Gentile world from the mysterious nature of the early Christian observances. In later centuries, 'mysteries,' connected with some mythical or semi-mythical founder such as Orpheus or Pythagoras, or with some definite divinity, were popular in the West, but the information which has come down to us concerning them is defective.

11. The prevalence of the rites and practices to which reference has been made must have greatly changed, in the course of centuries, the primitive Roman and Italian sense of the relation between the Divine powers and man. The claims of the gods upon man were felt to be more exacting than had been imagined in early days, requiring a toll of human suffering, sometimes physical, sometimes consisting in a sharp repression of many of the desires and ambitions of the average human being. The object of the discipline was in some way to cleanse the worshipper from a taint of impurity which he conceived to stand between himself and his divinity. The sense of sin often had a merely superstitious, ceremonial, or mechanical origin, but more and more of a moral and truly religious leaven mingled with it as time went on. Rome contained a large Oriental population, mostly descendants of slaves brought from the East; these contributed to the gradual transformation of ideas which proceeded through the centuries. Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 62-65), it will be remembered, declared that the Syrian Orontes had long since debouched into the Tiber, and many other Eastern races besides the Syrian were abundantly represented at Rome. In the orientalizing of religious sentiment, the Jews played a certain part. The populace of the capital were as familiar with Jewish ideas as the rulers of the Empire were ostentatiously ignorant of them. The action of the Christian element on the pagan cults of the West, though important, is hard to measure, and has often been over-estimated.

12. But another potent influence mingled with that of religion, and promoted a change in the moral atmosphere—the influence of philosophy. The first conspicuous example of asceticism within the bounds of Italy is seen in the extension among the Greek towns of the brotherhood founded by Pythagoras. The Roman antiquarians of the late Republic believed that early Rome itself had been influenced by the great philosopher, whose personality had already been dissolved away by legend. Down to the latest Imperial times there never ceased to exist in Italy men who called themselves his followers. The name 'Pythagorean' came to stand for simplicity of life, and for quiet of mind secured by self-suppression, self-discipline, and abstinence. Doctrines and ideas connected with the mythical name of Pythagoras entered into many of the late forms of religion and philosophy in the West. Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*), who was at Rome in the time of the Flavians, was supposed to be the great exponent of Pythagoreanism on its moral and religious side. This figure, like that of Pythagoras, was soon encrusted by myth. The romantic biography written by Philostratus during the reign of Septimius Severus is charged with 'Pythagorean' ideas, and is deeply coloured by asceticism.

13. But the vogue of the Pythagorean school never extended very far. The force of Stoicism in the Western world was vastly greater and more

pervading. The educated class at Rome began to be affected by it in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.; and the influence continued and grew until the Imperial system was submerged. The Roman character, as formed in the hard school of early military service, and of that subjection to authority in which Rome had found the secret of conquest, responded more readily to the call of Stoicism than to any other creed framed in the philosophic schools of Hellas. When the days of luxury and corruption came, the ideal Roman heroes were such men as Cincinnatus, summoned from the plough to command the State; Curius Dentatus, receiving the envoys of the Samnites while he cooked his herbs over the fire; Decius and Regulus, self-devoted to death for their country's sake. In the Augustan age, the Stoic and the ideal Roman were felt to be closely akin. There is a Stoic breath in the pessimism of Livy and Vergil, and the hope of their times for a new Golden Age and a great moral reform was often tinged by Stoic influence. It was not unnatural that many of the national heroes of later creation should be Stoics: Rutilius, 'the Roman Socrates,' who suffered on a false charge of the very crimes which he had repressed, Cato of Utica, Paetus Thrasea, and Helvidius Priscus. Even the Stoics who had opposed his predecessors on the throne, were heroes and martyrs in the eyes of Marcus Aurelius.

14. Like all the other Greek philosophies of the later time, late Stoicism laid peculiar stress on conduct, and paid comparatively little heed to old theological and cosmological speculation. It carried to a higher pitch than other schemes the enthusiasm for morality, which it raised almost to the level of a religion. A school which proclaimed the worthlessness of all ambitions except the ambition to achieve pure virtue within the soul, which regarded 'Nature' as the teacher of all simplicity, which deemed that man most god-like who had the smallest wants and the most perfect control over his desires, which enjoined absolute submission to a Divine order, and aimed at complete harmony between the individual and the Divine will, could claim affinity with what the best Romans regarded as the true Roman spirit. The Stoic made higher moral claims than other teachers; he was therefore more severely judged by the outside world. It has been easy for the detractor in ancient and modern times to contrast the professions of many Roman Stoics with their practice, and so to exhibit their school as worthless. In equally easy fashion has the worthlessness of Christianity often been alleged. It is certain that for the Romans, and for Western society generally, during many generations Stoicism was a heaven which worked powerfully for good, transforming the noblest natures most, but more subtly affecting the tone of life over a wide area. Profoundly influencing Roman law, and creating an atmosphere which the early Church inhaled, the ideal pursued by the Roman Stoics has transmitted much to the culture of the modern world. In particular, the growth of asceticism within the early Church was made easier because society was permeated with Stoic ideas and ideas akin to them.

15. The Cynic School, which was well represented in the Imperial age, exaggerated all the ascetic elements in Stoicism. Some of the Stoics even pronounced Cynicism 'a short road to wisdom.' Cynicism was indeed Stoicism 'heated seven times more than it was wont to be heated.' Epictetus draws a striking picture of the true Cynic (*Diss.* iii. 22). He has thoroughly accepted the old Greek doctrine, which left its traces in many systems, that the body is the tomb of the spirit. The soul must turn to God for release, and liken itself to Him, so far as human strength

will go, and must regard all material conditions as hampering and evil. But ascetic features were not wanting to many other sects besides the Cynics and the Stoics. They were conspicuous even in the much maligned Epicurean School. Although the motive power in human action was differently viewed by Stoics and Epicureans, yet the practical road to happiness laid down by both was much the same. The would-be happy man must learn to control, to limit, and to repress his desires, and to make himself independent of all that lies beyond his own power. Epicurus could rival Zeus in happiness on a diet of bread and water; and it was a maxim among Epicureans that the man of perfect wisdom would not cease to be happy if he were stretched upon the rack. Human misery was held to spring in large part from the mistaken value set on things external to the soul—the rest of it being due to superstition. Like other moral and all religious schemes, Epicureanism could be distorted and travestied, and could stray far away from the lines laid down for it by its founders and leaders. But true Epicureanism and true Stoicism were two trees which bore much the same moral fruit, however unlike they might be at the roots. Many of the most ascetic lessons in morality which are laid down by Seneca were drawn from the writings of the Epicurean brotherhood.

16. Platonism was early influenced by Stoicism, and the Neo-Platonic movement of the third and later centuries resumed and enforced the ascetic elements in the earlier systems. Philosophic sects and cliques other than those which have been named also existed; and nearly all showed some drift towards asceticism. But the most important movement of all was that great missionary movement which began early in the period of the Empire. Philosophers, often Cynics, but often also calling themselves by other names, left their studies and went forth into the streets of the great cities and preached to the people, urging them to change their lives and to follow after purity and abstinence, and to listen to the Divine call. The bearded preachers, wandering from city to city in coarse attire, have often reminded the modern student of the poor friars of the Middle Ages, who might have used without change many of the phrases uttered by their Stoic, Cynic, or Epicurean predecessors. Indeed, some of their utterances ring very like those of the 'revivalist' of modern days. Refined triflers like Lucian ridiculed and vilified these enthusiasts, but the common people heard them gladly, and thronged to drink in their lessons. Doubtless some impostors traded on this demand for instruction; but when every deduction has been made on account of the sounder ancient criticism, such as that by Epictetus, it would be unreasonable to doubt that these teachers did stir among the lower grades of society some yearnings after a better life. We cannot measure their influence with precision, but they must have contributed to swell the tide which bore Christianity on to its assured triumph. That the philosophic influences in the late Empire were far from worthless is seen by the example of Boethius, who, Christian as he was, found his chief consolation in philosophy.

LITERATURE.—Information bearing on this subject is to be sought in the great modern works bearing on Roman religion and on late ancient philosophy. Among them may be mentioned: Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1902); Réville, *La Religion romaine sous les Sévères* (Paris, 1886); G. Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme* (Paris, 1894); F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (2 vols., Brussels, 1895-99), and *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Eng. tr. from 2nd Fr. ed., Chicago, 1903); Zeller, *History of Greek Philosophy* (2 vols., London, 1881); Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1904); and A. Gasquet, *Le Culte et les mystères de Mithra* (Paris, 1899).

J. S. REID.

ASCETICISM (Semitic and Egyptian).—Asceticism, if it means the habitual renunciation of the things of the flesh as a self-discipline for the purpose of cultivating the things of the spirit, was unknown among the old heathen Semites and Egyptians. Asceticism is fundamentally based on a dualistic conception of the universe. It is justified only by the belief that matter is inherently corrupt—that it is the work, in whole or in part, of a being other than the Creator of the soul. Such a conception had no existence among either Semites or Egyptians. To the Semites in the earliest times the soul was simply the physical breath. It sometimes in later periods designated the inner nature of man, and thus was often used for the self, but it was always closely connected with the body, and was never conceived as of such a different order of existence that it could be benefited by the destruction of the body. That God who had made the body breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul (Gn 27), is the general Semitic conception. The soul was no holier than the body, for both were the work of the same deity. So dependent was the soul on the body, that after death the soul's existence was confined to the under world where the body had been placed—a dark and gloomy region, where it led a miserable and half-animate existence (see 'Ishtar's Descent,' *KB* vi. 80-91; Dhorme, *Choix de textes*, 326-341; or *Bab. and Assy. Literature*, Aldine ed., 408-413; also Is 14⁹⁸ and Ezk 32¹⁸⁻³²). So closely was the soul associated with the body, that later, when Semites came to believe in a resurrection, they necessarily held to the resurrection of the physical body. Indeed, the early Semitic conception of the manifestation of divinity through the processes of procreation (see Barton, *Semitic Origins*, ch. iii.) shows that their conceptions were removed as far as possible from asceticism.

The Egyptian conception of the soul was different. They held it to be a concrete entity, impalpable during life, which had its residence in the body, but left it at the moment of death. Another entity was the *ka*—an impalpable something connected with every man. Whether it was his double, or his guardian spirit or genius, is not clear (see Steindorff, *Rel. of the Anc. Egyptians*, 121f.). These were not, however, considered holier than the body, nor were their interests promoted by its destruction. On the contrary, the body had to be preserved for their use, and so preserved that each soul could recognize its own body; hence the great efforts made in Egypt to mummify the bodies of the dead.

It is clear, therefore, that among the peoples of whom we are speaking the fundamental thought-basis of asceticism did not exist. There are some phenomena, nevertheless, in the religions of these peoples which might to a superficial thinker seem to contradict this view. These must be briefly considered.

1. *Fasting* was practised by the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 40), by the Babylonians and Assyrians as is shown by their penitential hymns (cf. Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, 34; and *Bab. and Assy. Lit.*, Aldine ed., pp. 434, 437), by the Hebrews (cf. 1 K 21¹², Lv 16^{29, 31} 23²⁷⁻³² etc.), and by the Arabs, as is shown by the great fast of the month Ramadān, which has been taken over into Islām. A careful study of Semitic and Egyptian fasting makes it clear that it was not an ascetic practice. W. R. Smith (*Rel. of Sem.*² 434 ff.) held that in the beginning Semitic fasting was a preparation of the body for the reception of holy food—a view which Benzinger shares ('Fasting,' in *EB*). This is evidently the conception of it which the Egyptians entertained, if Herodotus may be

trusted, for he says the fasting was immediately followed by a sacrifice and a banquet. In the later development of Semitic thought among the Babylonians and Hebrews, fasting was undoubtedly regarded as a means of expressing penitence for sin, and of exciting the pity of the offended deity. This is the view which is expressed in the penitential psalms. It is based, however, on their conception of sin, and, as is shown below, that had nothing to do with asceticism.

2. Another practice which might be interpreted by some to indicate the presence of asceticism was the *abstinence from sexual intercourse* under certain conditions. Thus 'to lie with a woman having her sickness' was tabu (Lv 20¹⁸). This was not, however, a manifestation of asceticism, but the tabu arose from the belief that menstruation was a manifestation of Divine power with which it was dangerous to come into contact. Herodotus tells us that among the Babylonians and Arabs all sexual intercourse was followed by purification (i. 198), which means simply that it was regarded as an especially Divine process (cf. W. R. Smith, 425 ff., 446 ff.). Sexual intercourse was also tabu among both Egyptians and Semites within the holy precincts of a sanctuary (cf. Herod. ii. 64, and W. R. Smith, 45 ff. and 481 ff.). This was the case even when sacred prostitutes were connected with the temples, for these were careful to take their partners outside the sacred precincts (cf. Herod. i. 199). It was also prohibited to warriors—war being to the ancients a holy function—and often to people under a vow. While the origin of these tabus is not altogether clear, they had nothing to do with asceticism. The tabu relating to holy places does not apparently belong to the earliest stratum of Semitic religious thought, for in the earliest period sexual licence appears to have formed a part of the religious feasts (cf. Barton, *Sem. Or.* 110). Probably at first sexual pleasures were tabued to those on pilgrimage for a reason similar to that which prescribed fasting, viz. that the body might be the better prepared for the holy function at the festival. The tabu may afterwards have been applied to the holy place as an extension of this, or may have existed from the first lest the exercise of such a holy function in a sacred spot would make it too dangerous for one afterwards to mingle with his fellows. The application of the tabu to warriors is an extension of the tabu attaching to the holy place. Sexual intercourse was also renounced by those under a vow, perhaps for the same reason that food was sometimes renounced, i.e. as a motive for the early performance of the vow (cf. Ac 23¹⁴). In any case these tabus do not spring from ascetic principles.

3. The conception of *sin* which is found in the OT, the Babylonian penitential psalms, and in lesser degree in the Qur'an (cf. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 183 ff.; Morgenstern, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion*, 1905; and Qur'an, iv. 35), has no ascetic foundation. This consciousness of sin arose from the want of harmony between environment and life, or the disparity between prosperity and merit, and had nothing to do with ascetic conceptions.

There were two apparent exceptions in ancient Semitic life to the statements made above: the *Essenes* (*q.v.*) in Judaea, and the *rāhībīs*, *sā'ihīs*, and *hanīfīs*, who existed in Arabia at the beginning of Muhammad's career (see ASCETICISM [Muslim]). These were, however, not real exceptions, as in each case the impulse to ascetic practices came from non-Semitic sources.

The fullest contemporary description of the *Essenes* is in Josephus, *BJ* ii. 8. It appears that sunrise was a sacred time to them, though

Josephus does not, like Appian, imply that they worshipped the rising sun. The other ascetic traits connected with them were that they lived in brotherhoods, avoided trade, paid great attention to ceremonial purity, and some of them renounced marriage. Some regard this last as a natural heightening of Levitical purity, because priests had to be purified from sexual contact before performing priestly functions; others look upon it as a practice which could spring only from a dualistic conception of the universe, such as we find in Zoroastrianism. The reverence for the rising sun also points in the direction of Persian influence. Josephus makes it clear that the Essenes were confined to no locality, but were a brotherhood, about 4000 in number, scattered through the cities of Palestine. How the Persian influence reached them may be variously explained, but from the time of Cyrus the channels through which it might come were open.

Among the Arabs, the *rāhids*, or monks, the *sa'ihis*, or wanderers, and the *hanifs*, who were regarded as a kind of monk, were probably imitations of Christian monks. We learn from the pre-Islamic Arabian poetry in what high regard the Christian monks were held during that period. In the break-up of Arabian heathenism it was no wonder that men endeavoured to find satisfaction in the way of life which was followed by these monks and anchorites. Monasticism (*q.v.*) entered Christianity from non-Semitic sources, and in a mild form was transmitted by Christianity to Arabia. The same is true of Egypt, though monasticism in Egypt was Christian, and became much more intense than in Arabia. It was grafted on to Egyptian life, however, from a foreign source.

LITERATURE.—W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*², 1894; Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, 1902; Steindorff, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1903; Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, 1905; Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 1891; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*³, 1898-1901; Bousset, *Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*², 1906; Josephus, *BJ*, bk. ii. ch. 3; Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, 1885, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, 1905; Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1902 to date; Morgenstern, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion*, 1905; Macdonald, *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, 1903, which cites much Muhammadan literature. GEORGE A. BARTON.

AL-ASH'ARĪ.—Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'il al-Ash'arī was born at Baṣra in A.H. 260 (A.D. 873), of a noble and ancient Arab family; several of his ancestors held high offices in the State, and it was one of them, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Governor of Kūfa, who after the battle of Šiffin represented the cause of 'Alī in the arbitration that resulted in the proclamation of Mu'āwiya as Khalif (A.D. 658). Of his father little is known except that he was an orthodox Muslim, a student of the Traditions, and a friend of the Shāfi'ite legist Zakariyā ibn Yahyā al-Sājī. Baṣra had long been a centre of active religious controversy, and had been the home of some of the most famous teachers of the Mu'tazilite school, such as Wāṣil ibn 'Atā, Abū al-Hudhayl, and others, and at this period—the end of the 3rd cent. of the Hījra—Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Jubbā'ī was famous there as the greatest living exponent of the Mu'tazilite doctrines. Al-Ash'arī seems soon to have broken away from the orthodox influences of his home and to have become a zealous Mu'tazilite as the pupil of al-Jubbā'ī. Until his 40th year, he attended al-Jubbā'ī's lectures and took an active part in the disputations of his school; having a ready wit and an engaging delivery, he was not infrequently called upon by his master to take his place, whenever al-Jubbā'ī was not prepared to lead the discussion. We have no certain information as to the mental processes through which al-Ash'arī passed before he aban-

doned the Mu'tazilite position, at the age of 40, and went over to the orthodox party. His biographer gives the following dramatic account of the manner in which he publicly announced his conversion: 'He shut himself up in his house for fifteen days and refused to see any one; then making his way to the great mosque of Baṣra, he went up into the pulpit and cried out, "O assembly, I have absented myself from among you so long only because I have been absorbed in meditation, for the opposing doctrines seemed to me to be equally balanced, and the true did not outweigh the false nor the false the true; so I prayed unto God for guidance, and He has led me into the true faith, such as I have written down in these books of mine. I strip myself of all my former beliefs, just as I strip myself of this my garment." So saying, he took off the robe he was wearing and cast it from him, and distributed his books among the people' (Mehren, p. 252). The conversion of so eminent a thinker and so ardent a controversialist created a great stir, and the ability with which he now began to champion the orthodox position attracted to him a large number of disciples, so that he soon became one of the most celebrated teachers of his age, and theological problems were sent to him for solution from all parts of the Muslim world. He held several controversies with his old teacher, al-Jubbā'ī, who survived the defection of his pupil only three years. We have an indication of the character of such disputations in a story which several authorities tell in slightly different forms; but in spite of its doubtful authenticity and uncertain date (*e.g.* whether it belongs to the period after or immediately before his breach with the Mu'tazilites), it is undoubtedly characteristic of the theological controversies of this period. The story, as told by Ibn Ḥallikān, (No. 618, ed. Wüstenfeld), is that al-Ash'arī proposed the case of three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious; the second an infidel, a debauchee, and a reprobate; and the third an infant. They all died. What was the state of each one of them? Al-Jubbā'ī answered: 'The virtuous brother occupies a high place in heaven; the infidel is in the depths of hell; and the child is among those who have obtained safety.' 'Suppose,' asked al-Ash'arī, 'that the child should wish to ascend to the place occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do so?' 'No,' replied al-Jubbā'ī, 'it would be said to him: "Thy brother attained to this place through his numerous works of obedience (to God), but thou hast no such works to show." 'But suppose,' said al-Ash'arī, 'that this child said, "That is not my fault; Thou didst not let me live long enough, neither didst Thou give me the means of proving my obedience." 'In that case,' replied al-Jubbā'ī, 'God would say, "I knew that, if I had allowed thee to live, thou wouldst have been disobedient and deserved the grievous punishment (of hell); I thus considered what was for thy advantage." 'But suppose the infidel brother were then to say, "O God of the universe! since Thou knewest what his state would be, Thou must have known what mine would be; then why didst Thou consider what was for his advantage and not for mine?" 'Then al-Jubbā'ī was put to silence (Spitta, p. 42). Indeed, al-Ash'arī seems to have become rather a thorn in the side of his old teacher, who at last declined further discussion with him; whereupon al-Ash'arī is said once to have concealed himself in a part of the lecture-hall where al-Jubbā'ī could not see him, and to have prompted a woman sitting near him with question after question to which al-Jubbā'ī was unable to give satisfactory answers, until at last he guessed the trick that was being played upon him. Of the rest of al-Ash'arī's life few details are recorded.

taught Aurangzib the lessons of strategy, and taught his followers to respect their commander's courage. They laid the foundations of his future dominating influence. He was again governor of the Deccan in 1655-57, when the illness of his father brought about a fratricidal struggle for the throne. Allying himself with his youngest brother, Murād Bahsh, Aurangzib defeated the Imperial army under Jaswant Singh at Dharmātūr on April 25th, 1658, and again at Samūgarh on June 2nd, when his eldest brother Dārā was forced to fly. Agra fell into the hands of the victors; Shāh-Jahān was held a prisoner till his death seven years later; the other brothers were ruthlessly killed; and Aurangzib, who had already been proclaimed Emperor at Delhi in July, 1658, formally ascended the throne on May 26th, 1659, with the title of 'Alamgir, 'World-grasper.'

Though he had won the throne by treachery and by the murder of his brothers, Aurangzib was humane by nature, and no subsequent act of barbarity has been proved against him during his reign of half a century. The keynote of his character was a rigid Muslim's puritanism. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity, for he had nothing earthly to gain and everything to lose by his stern adherence to every tittle of the law of Islām. He might have cast Muhammad's precepts to the winds, as his father and grandfather had done, and only strengthened his hold of his Hindu empire.

There was nothing but his own conscience to prevent Aurangzib from adopting the eclectic philosophy of Akbar, the luxurious profligacy of Jahāngir, or the splendid ease of Shāh-Jahān. The Hindus would have preferred anything to a Muhammadao bigot. The Rājput princes only wanted to be let alone. The Deccan would never have troubled Hindūstān if Hindūstān had not invaded it. Probably any other Mughal prince would have followed in the steps of the kings and his forefathers, and emulated the indolence and vice of the court in which he had received his earliest impressions. Aurangzib did none of these things. For the first time in their history the Mughals beheld a rigid Muslim in their Emperor, a Muslim as sternly repressive of himself as of the people around him, a king who was prepared to stake his throne for the sake of the faith' (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 69).

In his daily life Aurangzib observed not only the minute details of the Muslim ritual, but an extreme austerity. He ate no meat, drank only water, kept all the fasts and vigils, passed whole nights in prayer and reading the Qur'ān in the mosque, gave alms profusely, and used the utmost simplicity in his dress and manners. In accordance with the Prophet's precept that every Muslim should practise a trade, he made skull-caps; he was also a fine calligraphist, and twice copied the whole Qur'ān, which he knew by heart. Laxity of morals, lewd conversation, the dancing of the Nāch girls, even music, were his detestation. Since to the fanatical puritanism of a strict Muslim were added an indomitable will and a courage so cool that he would dismount and recite the ordained prayers at the customary hour in the very thick of a battle, it is clear that far-reaching changes were in store for the mixed populations and religions of India. The storm began to gather in 1669, when the temple of Viṣṇu at Benares was destroyed by his order, and the idols buried under the feet of good Muslims at the mosque at Agra. Three years later came a rebellion of the Hindu devotees called Satnāmīs at Nārnaul, which was sternly suppressed. Soon afterwards Aurangzib imposed the intolerable *jizya*, or poll-tax, upon all non-Muslims, and turned the whole Hindu population against him. An interference with the infant princes of Mārwar led to a revolt of the Rājputs, and though this was more or less extinguished in 1681, Aurangzib lost thereby the support of the finest fighting force in Hindūstān.

The loss of Rājput loyalty was felt as soon as the Emperor undertook the reduction of the Deccan, which he regarded as 'infidels' land,' *Dār*

el-harb, and resolved to make *Dār el-Islām*. He had nearly conquered Gulkanda when he was called away to fight for the throne in 1657, but since then a new Hindu power, more formidable than the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijāpūr and Gulkanda, had arisen by the energy of Sivājī the Marāṭha freebooter, who had gradually established an era of brigandage on an heroic scale, built up a kingdom in the Western Ghāts, and widened his authority to the extent of levying blackmail over a great part of the Deccan. His death in 1680 did not end the revolt, and Aurangzib found that he had to deal with an indomitable nation of freebooters, whose strength and skill in guerrilla warfare he was never able to break. The Mughal generals had been too often repulsed, and the Emperor took the field in person in 1681. He first attacked the old Deccan kingdoms which appeared to shelter the Marāṭhas: Bijāpūr fell in 1686, and Gulkanda in the following year. Their extinction, however, only strengthened the Marāṭhas, whose disbanded armies swelled the forces of rebellion. The effeminate Mughal troops, deprived of the Rājput 'stiffening,' grew more and more demoralized by year after year of guerrilla fighting; and, whilst Aurangzib effected a kind of military occupation of the whole Deccan, except the Portuguese possessions and the extreme point south of Trichinopoly, his hold of the country was illusory; and the moment the Mughals turned their backs the hardy Marāṭhas emerged from their mountain fastnesses and recovered the territory lately occupied by their enemy. The country, devastated by the horde of invaders, welcomed the mountaineers as deliverers from a hateful foreign yoke. Aurangzib was engaged in a hopeless struggle, yet he never lost heart. For twenty years he fought his evasive foe, planned every campaign himself, issued all general orders and controlled every detail, conducted sieges in person, and in extreme age was barely withheld from leading the assault. It was all in vain; Hindūstān itself was full of revolt in the prolonged absence of its Emperor; the Deccan was a desert; the army was enfeebled and clamouring for its pay; and the Marāṭhas ever hung about its skirts and insolently defied it. Finally Aurangzib died, alone as alone he had lived, with all the puritan's sense of sin and unworthiness and dread of death, and full of the dejection of a colossal failure, on March 4th, 1707, in the 49th year of his reign, and the 89th of his age. With him the orthodox Muhammadan revival in India died also.

LITERATURE.—The native annalists are quoted in substance in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. vii. (London, 1876). European contemporary observers are Bernier, *Travels*, ed. Constable (London, 1891); Manucci, *Storia del Mogor*, ed. W. Irvine (4 vols., London, 1907-8); Gemelli Careri, in Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iv. (London, 1745); Tavernier, *Travels*, tr. V. Ball (2 vols., London, 1889). Fryer's *New Account of India* (London, 1698); and Hedges' *Diary*, ed. Sir H. Yule (3 vols., London, Hakluyt Society, 1887-9), may be consulted. The present writer contributed a biography of Aurangzib to the 'Rulers of India' series (Oxford, 1893).

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

AURELIUS.—See MARCUS AURELIUS.

AUSTERITIES.—1. Introduction.—Asceticism, strictly so called, is not found among peoples of lower grades of culture, but the practice of various kinds of austerities is very common. These take the place in the social, moral, magical, and religious life of savages which asceticism holds in that of more advanced peoples, but it is also noticeable that in certain instances, as where these austerities have the form of a self-discipline or are performed as part of the service of the gods, they approach very near to some aspects of asceticism. In savage life the precarious nature of existence, exposure, the struggle for food, the constant state

of warfare between different peoples, the ravages of diseases whose nature and cause are misunderstood, and many other things, are productive of much suffering and call for great endurance on the part of those whom they affect. More particularly women must undergo many austerities, whether as mothers, or as workers, or as suppliers of food; yet many of these are cheerfully undergone. Thus in carrying her child for miles on long journeys in great heat and often with little food, and in relieving its wants at the expense of her own comfort, the savage mother, in thus fulfilling her functions of motherhood, will willingly bear pain and discomfort. Nor are similar forms of austerity lacking, especially among the poor, even in our highest forms of civilization, where want, toil, and suffering must be undergone to satisfy the conditions of existence. The savage methods of punishment, the various forms of the ordeal, of revenge or recrimination, are usually of the most cruel and painful kind. But all such forms of austerity do not concern us here. Those alone are dealt with which are self-inflicted or which are willingly borne, for definite purposes, subserving now magical, now religious, now ethical ends.

Unwilling as the savage is to suffer pain, his theory of the universe constrains him to undergo it on many occasions in order to fit him better for the ends of life, or to make life more tolerable, or to please the gods or spirits by whom he believes himself to be surrounded. Such austerities, undergone at one time for magical purposes, frequently change their nature. Thus they may come to be regarded as possessing a disciplinary character, in which case they are hardly to be differentiated outwardly from the disciplinary exercises, often of the same kind, of a higher asceticism, though they may not possess the same ethical or religious content. Others, again, as time goes on, may assume a more or less symbolic character, their excessive severity being then much lessened. On the other hand, even where such earlier forms of austerity survive in higher forms of religion, their severity is often by no means decreased, although the motive may have become a nobler one. Examples of this will be found in the various forms of austerity discussed here. These are mainly austerities connected with a variety of initiatory ceremonies, flagellation, fasting, mutilations of the body, tattooing, and medical rites, while some notice must be taken of self-restraint among savage races.

Before passing on to these, we may notice that the universal custom of sacrifice, involving a greater or less renunciation of property and possessions, of food-stuffs, and not infrequently life itself, or, as a substitute for that, of some part of the body, is a marked form of austerity; and its equivalent in the higher ascetic life—the devotion to poverty, the willing renunciation of comfort and luxury for the sake of love to God—has surely received a considerable impulse from this wide-spread custom of ethnic religion, though by no means wholly derived from it. In other cases, which need not be more fully detailed here, life itself is sacrificed in suicide, often through pride or shame or a sense of duty (see A. Sutherland, *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, London, 1898, ii. 35). Or, where it is thought that one ought to pass into the other world before the body and mind have become frail, decrepit, and worn out, life is often freely yielded up by the aged or the sick (see ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE). Though the custom may appear cruel and frequently is accomplished by cruel means, it is mostly a willing self-surrender of life that a higher life may be attained beyond the grave (see Letourneau, *Sociology*, London, 1893, 154 ff.; Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, vol. i., London, 1906, p. 383 ff.).

2. Adolescence initiation ceremonies.—Among savage tribes the passing of a boy or girl to manhood or womanhood is usually accompanied by a number of ceremonies, several of which are most severe and painful, but must be undergone willingly in order to preserve their effect. This stage of life, being a highly critical one, the beginning of sexual existence properly so called, demands many safeguards, and, taken as a whole, the various ceremonies are intended to ward off or neutralize the evil influences incident to that period. Where a youth is concerned, there is the beginning of a new life which requires ceremonies of a purificatory kind, besides preparation for entrance upon a stage of new relations with the other sex. Hence there must be seclusion for a time, while the youth is usually debarred from intercourse of any kind with the other sex, and silence is frequently imposed. Fasting is also made use of, either in the sense of complete abstinence from food for a longer or shorter period, or abstinence from certain foods which are tabu at such a stage. This is intended to prevent the entrance of evil influences to the body with such foods, or to prepare the way for receiving them later on. Other ceremonies have the purpose of strengthening the youth for manhood; these are often of a severe character, and, joined with others which are intended to purify from the contagion of evil, easily pass over into tests of endurance. Some form of mutilation, more or less severe—the more severe forms being circumcision, loss of a tooth, or cutting of the flesh,—is frequent. In this case, perhaps, the primary intention is, by losing some part of the body, to secure the rest from evil influences; but it easily passes over into the idea of sacrifice, or some purificatory ceremony, or simply a test of endurance. Again, the youth at this period sometimes obtains a guardian spirit, whose nature is revealed to him in most cases by fasting in solitude, exposed to all the terrors which imagination and the sense of mystery may conjure up. This sense of mystery exciting fear is usually present at all these initiatory ceremonies, for now the youth is instructed not only in sexual matters but in such tribal lore—magical, religious, moral, or otherwise—as is confined to the men. Thus, though in different places the nature of the rites may vary, or their severity be greater or less, they call for the endurance of great austerities on the part of the youth. See art. INITIATION.

A few examples chosen from different localities will show the nature of the austerities undergone at this period. Among the northern tribes of Central Australia the long and complicated ceremonies of initiation to manhood include beating, which must not be resented, circumcision, sub-incision or cutting open the urethra, and biting the youth's scalp; while, as a rule, though fasting is not carried to an extreme, several foods are tabu. During the painful rites of circumcision and sub-incision the youth's mouth is gagged with 'fur-string' to prevent his crying out, while no attempt is made to spare him pain when his scalp is bitten, the object being to cause a plentiful growth of hair. With some of the tribes knocking out a tooth is part of the ceremony, with others it has no connexion with it (Spencer-Gillen^b, ch. i.). Among the Macquarrie tribes any exhibition of shrinking when the tooth is knocked out or the body scarified makes the youth unfit for manhood (Angas, *Savage Life*, London, 1847, ii. 224). With other tribes scourging is practised, and the young men must endure it silently (Ridley, *Kamilaroi and other Aust. Lang.*, Sydney, 1877, 154). With the Andamanese the initiatory period—for both youths and girls a period of fasting from several tabued foods—begins from the 11th to the 13th year, and lasts from one to five years, though sometimes a youth will extend the period in order to boast of his powers of endurance afterwards. It is said to be intended as a test of endurance or self-denial, but as various complicated ceremonies mark the first partaking of these foods at the time when tabu is raised from each, the intention probably goes further than this (Man, *JAI*, 1882, xii. 94, 129). In New Guinea the initiation of boys to the Malu cult is attended with great mystery and severity. They are not allowed to cut or dress the hair, to dance, feast, smoke, or behave in an unseemly way; they are beaten with clubs and severely wounded. These rites are said to have had a strong educative effect. Boys among the Cape York natives were secluded for a year, at the

end of this time a tooth was knocked out, and a year later a further test of endurance was applied (Haddon, *Head Hunters*, London, 1901, 50 ff., 191). Similarly in Mabuiag lads were tortured and chastised, and the tests increased with a refractory boy, who was speared, scraped, or beaten with the nests of green ants which stung him furiously (ib. 140). In many parts of Africa similar rites are found. Thus among the natives of the Bondei region the *galo* ceremonies include passing the boy through a narrow pit smeared with the juices of a plant which burn his skin, incision of tribal marks on the arm, and the performance of secret ceremonials in some of which he is severely handled, death occasionally resulting (Dale, *JAI*, 1895, xxv, 189 ff.).

But it was among the tribes of North America that such austerities at initiation were most severe, especially where they were connected with the choice of a *manitou*. Thus among the Californian tribes abstinence and indifference to hardship and privations were insisted upon, and before the youth could rank as a warrior his naked body was stung with nettles till he could not move, after which he was laid on the nest of a virulent species of ant, which, swarming over his body and stinging it, caused him fearful agony. To discover his *manitou* he was made to fast for three or four days, and was intoxicated and harassed until he confessed to seeing it. A figure of the *manitou* was then moulded and placed on his breast, where it was ignited so that the figure might be indelibly marked on the flesh (Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, London, 1875, i, 413 ff.). Among the New Mexicans the ordeal consisted in scarifying the skin till the blood ran, the candidate being expected to show no sign of pain (ib. i, 580). With the tribes of British Columbia boys were secluded at puberty and made to eat and drink very sparingly: in other cases they were made to bathe in all weathers, their naked bodies were whipped daily, they had to gash themselves with knives in the sweat-house, or lie out exposed to the elements all night. Prolonged fasts, bathtings, forced vomitings, and other exhausting exercises for a longer or shorter period were among the means employed in solitude for obtaining mystic dreams and a knowledge of the *manitou* (Hill Tout, *JAI*, 1904, xxxiv, 32, 316; 1905, xxxv, 143-144). Rigorous fasting was compulsory on boys and girls among the Algonquin tribes, and the longer the period of abstinence the greater the merit which accrued. During these fasts, which were common to practically all the American Indian tribes, the greatest attention was paid to dreams, for it was mainly through these that the revelation of the *manitou* came (Tanner, *Narrative*, New York, 1830, 288; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1857-1860, *passim*; Beverley, *Hist. of Virginia*, London, 1722, 177 ff.).

Similar austerities are found among the South American tribes. Thus, in Guiana, before the youth can marry he must endure the infliction of flesh-wounds, or he is sewn up in a hammock full of fire-ants, or undergoes other hardships (Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, 221). Among the ancient Peruvians, at fifteen or sixteen years, boys had to practise rigorous fasts until they were worn out, to watch for twelve nights in succession, to fight with each other at the risk of wounds, or death, to undergo flogging, and many other privations, before receiving the signs of their new position as men (Garc. de la Vega, *Comm. Real.*, Madrid, 1609, vi, 35). So in ancient Mexico, before being introduced to the aristocratic warrior class, the youth, covered with rags, was shut up in different temples in succession, offering his blood to the divinity, watching and fasting for periods of four days and four nights (Lopez de Gomara, *Hist.*, Madrid, 1852, ii, 78). See § 8 (3).

In the case of girls, the arrival of puberty, in accordance with the universal theory of menstruation as containing an element of danger to the girl herself, but more especially to others, and even to nature itself, is marked by several painful ordeals. Among these the most common is the absolute seclusion of the girl for a longer or shorter period, so that no man may see her and that the sun may not shine on her. Fasting, excision, cuttings, and other barbarities are also commonly found at this period.

Girls in New Guinea, on the first signs of puberty, are shut up for three months and permitted only vegetable food (Haddon, *op. cit.* 135). In New Ireland they are confined for several years in the dark in small cages, and this custom is general over Melanesia (*JAI*, 1893, xviii, 284). Seclusion is also found among most African tribes, as among the Kafirs (MacLean, *Kafir Laws and Customs*, Mount Coke, 1858, 101) and in Loango (Ploss, *Das Kind*, Leipzig, 1884, ii, 439). With the Bondei people the rite for girls, corresponding to the *galo* of the boys, lasts for twelve days. On the last day the girl fasts. During this period she is taught the *vihili*, or secrets, and this teaching is accompanied by severe and painful ordeals (*JAI*, 1895, xxv, 193). The custom of seclusion is common among the N. American tribes, varying from a few days to a year or longer. Girls among the Ahts are hidden behind mats in the house, where they can see neither sun nor fire, and are allowed no food for several days (Sproat, *Savage Life*, London, 1868, 93 ff.). Among Alaskan tribes the girl was shut up in a cage with a small air-hole, or in a hut, where she remained on hands and knees. This treatment lasted for a year, and no communication with others or exercise of any kind was allowed (*GE* ii, 211). Bancroft cites many instances among the tribes of the Pacific coast. Thus among the Isthmian

tribes the girl was closely confined, sometimes for a period of two years (*NR* i, 772, cf. 82, 110, 197, 278). Among the Californian tribes she was laid over a hole previously heated, and kept without food for some days. Or she was buried up to the neck and the ground about her beaten till she perspired profusely (ib. 414). Among the Salish tribes of British Columbia, seclusion in a cubicle for ten days was the rule, the girl being allowed little food or water. With other Salish tribes she was secluded outside the settlement for a month under many food restrictions (*JAI*, 1905, xxxv, 32, 319). In other tribes she had to equate for some days in a hole made in the hut, while her seclusion lasted for a much longer period. She fasted entirely for four days, and afterwards abstained from all fresh meats (ib. xxxv, 130). In S. America these customs also flourished among most of the tribes, as in Brazil, where the girl's back was cut with a sharp tooth, after which she was bound and hung in a hammock, in which she remained without food or drink for three days. New gashes were then inflicted upon her, and she remained in the hammock under less strict rules of abstinence until the third month (Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amér.*, Paris, 1724, i, 290 ff.). The Tupas of Brazil also seclude the girl for a month on an absterious diet. When released she receives several severe scourgings at intervals, death sometimes ensuing as the result (Wallace, *Amazon*, London, 1895, 345). In Guiana the hammock seclusion lasted for a month, after which the girl's naked body was exposed to the bites of venomous ants (Labat, *Voy. en Guinée*, Amsterdam, 1731, iv, 365).

Similar instances might be cited, occurring among more advanced races, e.g. the Hindus, though with less severity. Here it may also be noted that, on account of similar beliefs regarding the danger and impurity of menstruation, women, among most savage tribes, must go into seclusion, often at some distance from the village, abstain from certain foods, or fast (see Stoll, *Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, 835 ff.; *NR* i, 549; *JAI*, 1904, xxxiv, 323; *GE* iii, 222 ff.). This is also found at higher levels of civilization (cf. Lv 15:19; Avesta, *Vendidad*, xvi.). Similarly, women, being tabu among many peoples at pregnancy on account of the danger arising from this critical period of their life, have frequently to go into entire seclusion, or are in some way separated from others, and must abstain from certain kinds of food (Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, 9, 167, 200, 417; *NR* i, 413, 734; *JAI*, 1882, xii, 354). See also § 6 (b), 8 (5).

3. Admission to secret societies or 'mysteries' at opening manhood or womanhood was, in many cases, also characterized by severe austerities, which, though no doubt intended as a preparation for the revelation of secret knowledge, myths, or ritual, can hardly be separated in their origin from the pains undergone at puberty, while in some cases they seem to have been intended also as puberty ceremonies. Yet, in so far as these and certain ordinary initiatory ceremonies pave the way for the communication of religious and, occasionally, moral teaching, we see such forms of austerity almost passing over to a kind of disciplinary asceticism, and certainly possessing the primitive meaning of *δοκίμιος* as 'training.' In Australian mysteries, for example, the advice given by the old men was intended to 'soften the heart,' and, as among the Kurnai, the stomachs of the boys were kneaded to drive out selfishness and greed (*JAI*, 1883, xiii, 296; 1884, xiv, 313), while unselfishness is taught in the Yao mysteries, a selfish person being called 'uninitiated' (Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i, 130; cf. the moral teaching given by headmen to boys at circumcision and initiation during the painful rites attendant thereon among the Mavendas of S. Africa, *JAI*, 1905, xxxv, 268). Further, in many of these mysteries, the initiation to which lasts for a long period of time, the candidate is supposed to die and come to life again as a new being. Although this idea may not have the intention of ascetic renunciation—*Stirb und werde*—yet in it and in the moral training for the attainment of 'selflessness,' so far as a savage can grasp the idea, we see a connexion with the later ascetic ideals.

In Africa, examples of such initiations are numerous. Among others may be cited those of the west coast, in which the youths are taken by their instructors into the depth of the forest, where they are subjected to a severe course of training during a year; they are naked and smeared with clay (M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, London, 1897, 531). In the Mwetyi society of the Shekani tribes—a woman's society—the initiation lasts for two weeks, and is accompanied by severe ordeals and fasting, while the girls must gaze at the sun until they fall back in a swoon. Most of the ordeals are intentionally hard, so that the wills of the candidates may be broken and secrecy ensured (Nassau,

Fetichism in W. Africa, London, 1904, 249). With candidates for the Malanda society among the Batangas the sun-gazing ordeal is applied to the lads; then, while everything is done to augment their sense of awe and mystery, they are confined in a hut for twenty days along with a corpse, and beaten severely with rods until they are submissive (*ib.* 322). In Melanesia entrance to such societies is possible only after a severe initiation, including hardships and tortures. In other cases the candidates are stung with leaves of the nettle-tree, made to fast and to take live embers in their hands, and are trodden upon, or, as in the Welu society, they are each placed in a hole in the ground and burning fronds of the coco-nut palm are thrown on their backs, yet they must not utter a cry (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, London, 1891, 82, 87, 88). In these and many similar initiation rites the youths are daubed with clay, charcoal, mud, or filth, which must not be washed off till the ordeal is at an end; this rite may signify the putting away of the old life, as it did in certain Greek mysteries (Lang, *Custom and Myth*, London, 1884, 40; *JAI*, 1889, xix. 261; Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 313). Here, too, may be noted the initiatory custom used in the Eleusinian and other Greek mysteries, in which, besides other tests, the candidates had to prepare themselves by fasting for several days; the similar fasting before initiation to the cult of Osiris and Isis in Egypt; and the various tests of endurance undergone by candidates for initiation to Mithraism (see artt. MYSTERIES, MITHRA, SECRET SOCIETIES, and Apul. *Metam.* xi.).

4. Initiation to the priesthood.—As in savage societies the priest, sorcerer, or medicine-man has a commanding station and exercises so much influence by virtue of his relation to the spiritual world, it is natural that those who seek to enter upon that profession should be subjected to a severe course of training, involving many austerities. And as the communications of the medicine-man with the other world are usually associated with a state of trance, or his revelations are given in some ecstatic condition, the candidate's course of training is intended to adapt him for the production of these states either by reducing him to an abnormal condition of body and mind, or by accustoming him to the use of such severe methods as will readily produce them. The phenomena of hysteria, epilepsy, catalepsy, and such-like diseases are believed by savages, and indeed by many peoples at a higher grade, to denote possession or inspiration by gods, spirits, or demons. Hence such persons as are subject to them are often deliberately chosen for the profession of medicine-man, while their abnormal states are only heightened by the austerities undergone. In other cases, in accordance with the prevailing theory of the nature of inspiration and of the state into which the inspired person is thrown, the production of such states at will is the object of the painful processes to which the candidate must submit. The course of training includes solitude, exposure to the elements, scarifying the body, castigation, fasting, and drinking various unwholesome beverages. By all these means the candidate soon arrives at a hysterical or abnormal state. He acquires the faculty of seeing visions, of producing a convulsionary state of body, or of falling into a trance. A few examples of the method of training will suffice to show its severity and the painful nature of the austerities undergone (see also artt. MEDICINE-MAN and PRIEST).

In Greenland the preparation for the profession of *angakok* begins at an early age, and includes retirement into solitary places and a severe course of fasting. By these methods trances are produced in which the novice obtains a *törnak*, or guardian spirit, or falls into fits in which his ravings are held to be communications from the spirits (Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, London, 1876, 68; Cranz, *Grönland*, Leipzig, 1770, 268). Among the American Indians similar methods are adopted: protracted fasts, severe bodily exercises, and solitary vigils all reduce the candidate to a hysterical state, in which he dreams or has revelations; and the greater his austerities the more vivid and copious are his visions, and hence the higher is the estimation in which he is held (*JAI*, 1904, xxiv. 26; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes, passim*). Among the Isthmian tribes, youths are chosen for their natural aptitude to the office of *piáces*, or sorcerers, and are confined in a solitary place, subjected to a severe discipline for two years, fasting from all flesh meat and living only on a scanty diet of vegetables and water; while all sexual intercourse is prohibited (*NR* i. 777). In S. America we find similar methods employed. Among the Abipones the aspirants had to remain seated on the branches of a tree and to fast for several days. By this means they contracted 'a weak-

ness of brain, a giddiness, and kind of delirium, which makes them imagine that they are gifted with superior wisdom, and give themselves out for magicians' (Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, London, 1822, ii. 68). Training for the office of *peaiman* in Guiana involves a painful and severe trial of endurance. The candidate fasts for protracted periods, wanders alone in the forest, and accustoms himself to drinking large draughts of tobacco-juice mixed with water. The terrors of solitude and the drinking of the nicotine produce intense delirium, in which he holds converse with spirits. Epileptic subjects are preferred for the office (Im Thurn, 334).

In Africa, among the Zulus, those who wish to become diviners have to acquire the power of intercourse with the spirits in states of coma or ecstasy by solitude, prolonged fastings, and flagellation, until they become a 'house of dreams' (Callaway, *Rel. of Amazulu*, London, 1834, 387; Grout, *Zulu-Land*, London, 1865, 158). Among the Bondeis the youth who aspires to be a doctor must submit to be scarified all over his body (*JAI*, 1895, xxv. 213). The *manangs*, or medicine-men, among the Sea Dayaks must prove their call to the office by prolonged fasting, and by ecstatic states and trances in which they foam at the mouth (Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, London, 1896, i. 266). And among the Todas, the *palai*, or priest, at his initiation must remain naked for three days and two nights, whether the weather is hot or freezing, and eat only a little porridge at night (Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, London, 1891, 221).

For similar trials among American tribes before appointment to the office of chief, etc., including fasting, flagellation, stinging with ants, see Letourneau, *Sociology*, 473; Biet, *Voy. en l'Isle de Cayenne*, Paris, 1664, iii. 10.

In these and hundreds of similar cases the discipline may be more or less severe, and its period longer or shorter, but the intention in all is the same. Not only so, but in future the medicine-man, or shaman, previous to communicating with the spirits, giving oracles, healing, and the like, must produce the abnormal state by these painful processes, which will, of course, be more or less extensive according as he readily passes over into that state or not. Frequently it is spontaneously produced, either because the shaman is a hysterical subject or on account of the training he has undergone; but generally it is artificially produced by fasting, by wild dances and screams, by contortions of the body, by flagellation, by cutting the flesh, or by swallowing various narcotics and herbs (cf. Parish, *Hallucinations*, London, 1897, 40). The result is a trance, a nervous seizure, frenzied movements, foaming at the mouth, and raving utterances. Similar results followed the hysterical excitement which attacked whole communities in the Middle Ages, and which was often produced by such artificial means, especially convulsive movements and dancing. They are seen again in the American Indian ghost-dances, in which, following convulsive gyrations, trance and catalepsy are induced, or in the indifference to pain and wounds among Muhammadan dervishes in consequence of ecstasy produced by similar movements (Tuckey, *Psycho-Therapeutics*³, London, 1891, 12; Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, London, 1902, ii. 161; Myers, *Human Personality*, London, 1903, ii. 190; and *Proc. Psych. Research Soc.* 1885, p. 31).

5. Flagellation.—As has been said above, scourging or beating is a frequent practice at the various forms of initiation. A wider view of this rite among savages and as a folk-survival leaves little doubt as to its original purpose. The scourging is intended to drive away the contagion of evil, and the malignant presence of demoniacal powers. The pain is inflicted less as a means of hurting the victim than of making these evil influences suffer, or of frightening them so that they will depart. This is especially noticeable where the scourging is done not with rods, but with branches or plants which are supposed to possess magical virtues; in such cases it is not always necessarily painful. It may, however, be made painful where the plant has poisonous juices or is of a stinging variety. But its original intention soon passes over into that of simply inflicting pain or undergoing voluntary suffering, either by way of hardening or as a means of self-discipline with a definitely religious or moral end. Here it becomes a true ascetic

austerity, but it may also be a pathological form of asceticism. Or, again, it may be used as an erotic stimulation, though here it assumes a pathological form as subserving genesic excitability. In other cases its religious disciplinary use is conjoined with some pathological erotic purpose, as in the case of Brother Cornelius and his penitents, or of Père Girard (Cooper, *Hist. of the Rod*, London, 1870, 122 ff.; Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*², 609). The pain caused by flagellation, again, made it an obvious and well-nigh universal form of punishment. With this and its previous use we are not concerned here. Finally, it remains to notice how, while subserving its primitive purpose or used simply as a means of producing pain, it may be regarded as a form of sacrifice to gods who will that their worshippers should suffer, or it may pass as a substitute for an offering of the person himself as a human sacrifice. Most of these purposes are also served by using instead of a scourge some stinging plant or some substance causing pain to the tissues when applied to the body, as has been seen in several cases of initiation rites.

The primitive purpose of flagellation is seen in the fact that those animals or men on whom the evils of a community were laid (scape-goat), and who were driven away or slain, had probably in the first instance been regarded as representatives of a spirit of vegetation who was slain. They were frequently scourged, and the scourging had the effect of driving off 'any malignant influence by which at the supreme moment they might conceivably be beset' (*GB*² iii. 128). When they were regarded simply as scapegoats, the scourging became a means of causing pain. Instances of this use of flagellation to drive away evil are found in many places. When a king was installed in the Sandwich Islands, the priest struck him on the back with a sacred branch, in order to purify him from defilement (Ellis, *Polynes. Researches*, London, 1829, iii. 110). Brazilian Indians scourge themselves on the genital organs with a certain plant at the time of the new moon (Nery, *Folk-lore brésilien*, Paris, 1889, 253). Sometimes the scourging is done on a substitute, as in New Caledonia, where, when a chief is ill, a girl is severely whipped to drive away the evil (Featherman, *Soc. Hist. of Races of Mankind*, London, 1891, ii. 92). Or it may be mutually inflicted, as in Peru at an autumn festival, where the people beat each other with torches, saying, 'Let all harm go away' (Acosta, *Hist. of the Indies*, Hakk. Soc. 1880, ii. 375). Similar practices still survive in folk-custom (*GB*² iii. 131 ff.).

With the same object of driving out the demon of disease which has entered into a patient's body, in accordance with the universal primitive view of the cause of sickness, flagellation is resorted to in savage medicine, the patient often undergoing great suffering through this cure. Thus among the Californian Indians, in cases of paralysis, the affected parts are whipped with nettles (*NR* i. 419). Among the Ainu beating with herbs to drive out the demons of sickness is part of the healer's method (Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, 313). In Timor-Laut, if a smallpox *prao* should be stranded on the coast, the people are beaten with branches, which are then put on the *prao* before it is launched away again, and the demon of smallpox is besought to depart (*GB*² iii. 98, citing Riedel). Women suffering from demoniacal possession in Burma are thrashed with a stick, the demon alone being supposed to feel the blows (Bastian, *Östl. Asien*, Jena, 1866-71, ii. 152). These methods survived into later medicine, especially in the case of madness, though here the curative virtue was evidently supposed to

lie in the rough treatment to which the patient was subjected (Cooper, *op. cit.* 204).

The magical value of flagellation is seen in the flogging of women with thongs cut from the skins of the sacrificial goats by the Luperci at the Lupercalia in Rome. This act, communicating to them magically the beneficent influence of divinity, was believed to render them prolific (Ovid, *Fasts*, ii. 267 ff.). Although the numerous cases of scourging or stinging at initiation frequently have the primitive purpose here discovered, they are sometimes expressly said to be done with the view of causing pain or testing endurance. Thus, among the Bavendas, after circumcision, the youths, stripped naked, are beaten and suffer other hardships by exposure to the intense night cold, in order to harden them (*JAI*, 1905, xxxv. 252). Among other Bechuana tribes, after circumcision the youths are scourged at intervals with great severity, and it is a point of honour that they should show absolute impassibility even though the blood spouts from their backs, and the whip leaves life-long scars. At the same time they are allowed no flesh meat but what they can themselves obtain, and are subjected to the endurance of cold and hunger (Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, London, 1857, 146 ff.; *JAI*, 1889, xix. 268 ff.).

The primitive view of scourging has here, as in other cases, been superseded by a later conception of it as a painful test of endurance. At this point the cruel flogging of youths at Sparta in connexion with the cult of Artemis—the blood from the wounds caused by the whip being shed on the altar—can scarcely be viewed in any other light than that of a survival of earlier rites of initiation, especially as the Spartan youths, like the Bechuana, were allowed no food save what they could discover for themselves. The flogging was done in presence of their parents, who encouraged them to show no sign of suffering; and so severe was it that the youths sometimes died. Various mythical explanations of this flogging were current, but it was generally regarded as a substitute for human sacrifice ordained by Lycurgus (Paus. iii. 16; Lucian, *Anacharsis*). But in the light of similar customs elsewhere, the origin must be sought in old initiation rites of a savage past, remains of which, like the 'bull-roarer' (*βούρος*) and daubing with mud, were also found in the Greek mysteries. Similar scourgings took place elsewhere in Greece (Potter, *Antiq. of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1824, i. 258); and among the Thracians, according to Artemidorus, flagellation in honour of their Artemis was also practised.

Such tests of endurance by flagellation enter sometimes into festival dances, as among the Arawaks, where the men armed with whips lashed each other alternately until they were covered with bleeding wounds, yet the pain was 'borne and inflicted with perfect good temper' (Im Thurn, 326; cf. a striking match, resulting often in death, among the Mosquito Indians, *NR* i. 735). Probably this is to be connected with a group of rites in which blows, effusion of blood, etc., are intended to promote fertility (see § 8(b)). For the discipline of self-flagellation in the Christian Church, see artt. ASCETICISM, FLAGELLANTS; Zöckler, *op. cit.* 458, 528 ff.; Cooper, *op. cit.* Beginning as an act of monastic asceticism in the 11th cent., it assumed a pathological form with the later orders of Flagellants (especially during the ravages of the Black Death), who regarded it as more efficacious than the sacraments.

Flagellation as a sacrifice or as a substitute for sacrifice has already appeared in the case of the Spartan youths. Perhaps the mutual flagellation of the Galli at the spring festival at Hierapolis, accompanied as it was by self-cuttings (Lucian,

de Dea Syria, 50), and the flagellation of the Egyptians at Busiris during the festival of Isis (Herod. ii. 61, 'for whom they beat themselves it would be impious for me to divulge'), also had this character. An analogous instance may be found in the custom of the Indians of Guiana who rub red pepper into their eyes when approaching any place haunted by spirits, in order that the latter may not see them. But it is probably in its intention a sacrificial act—the suffering endured being intended to placate the spirits (Im Thurn, 368). See art. FLAGELLANTS.

6. Fasting.—Fasting as a form of austerity enters largely into savage life. Hunger is one of the most pressing trials of the savage, although he can go for long periods with little food, like the Bushman observed to live for fifteen days on water and salt (Thompson, *Trav. in S. Africa*, London, 1827, 99). Sometimes, too, the savage will undergo fasting as a purely unselfish act, giving his food to his starving children or sharing his scanty supply with his fellows, who, when it is exhausted, starve to death with him (Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, London, 1893, 103, 115). Frequent periods of abstinence, especially in regions where the food supply is scarce, are forced upon him. We are here concerned, however, with voluntary fasts rather than with those imposed upon savage man. Although he regards fasting quite differently from the civilized ascetic, and probably has no strong wish to suffer the pangs of hunger, yet voluntary fasting is forced upon him for different reasons.

The origin of fasting is complex, but on the whole it seems to have been adopted at first for magical reasons. Man's experience of hunger in times of scarcity may have suggested to him that to fast voluntarily might guarantee him against scarcity, and also have the effect of increasing the food supply. Thus at the Intichiuma ceremonies of Central Australian tribes, which have for their purpose the increase of the totem food supply, fasting is a part of the rite (Spencer-Gillen^b, 290). On more purely religious grounds an analogy is found where the sacrifice of one person wards off danger menacing a whole group. Fasting is also intimately connected with the system of food tabus. In some cases these may arise from the selfishness of stronger members of a human group, who forbid others to touch certain foods sacred to themselves, or again from the wise practice of establishing a 'close' time when certain foods are likely to become scarce, as in Polynesia, where, if a bad harvest is feared, a tabu is placed on bananas, hens, etc., to establish a reserve (Letourneau, *Sociology*, 489). But they often arose out of man's peculiar views regarding the contagion of evil influences which might be warded off by, so to say, sacrificing a part in lieu of the whole. Food was eminently a vehicle for evil influences entering the body, hence by the tabuing of some particular food other foods would be rendered harmless. Tabu is also connected with totemism, where some particular animal or plant species is not eaten by those whose totem it is. But it also has a much wider range, and affects foods which may not be eaten at certain periods of life, e.g. before a youth is initiated, before marriage, during pregnancy, at the time of the couvade, during hunting or war. In this aspect fasting from the tabued food also acts as a kind of purification. Fasting in all such cases includes such varieties as abstinence from certain foods, or from meat, or from food with which women have had to do (sexual tabu), or from all food for a varying period. In certain cases kings or priests might not eat certain foods for tabu and other magical reasons, such as their being recognized as incarnate divinity, which often occurs. Frequently, too,

women might not eat men's food, and *vice versa* (see Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 172, etc.; cf. an instance cited by Im Thurn, 256, where the Indians would have starved rather than resort to cooking some cassava roots, because cooking was woman's work).

Whatever be the reason for a food-tabu, it argues considerable self-restraint, akin to the restraint which desires to discipline the body through fasting among peoples of a higher culture. To break such a tabu is universally considered the greatest crime, to be visited by severe punishment or by automatic results—sickness or death. Many instances are known where a savage would rather starve to death than eat some tabued food though that alone was available, and though all risk of detection by fellow-clansmen was out of the question. Again, since during periods of fasting as the result of famine, morbid conditions of psychic life are induced, with dreams and visions, fasting is in turn resorted to in order to produce these, as has already been seen (§ 4). Finally, since it is believed that the gods are pleased with suffering, fasting becomes a painful service rendered to them, or, again, it is used as a penitential discipline. This occurs in many barbaric cults at a higher stage than mere savagery, and in the later usage fasting speedily becomes an ascetic exercise (see art. FASTING).

(a) Fasting before marriage has mainly a magical aspect, and is doubtless intended as one means out of many of lessening the dangers supposed to attend this critical stage of sexual life, while it avoids the possibility of evil influences entering the body through food. The following typical examples will suffice. Among the Macusis the man must abstain from meat for some time before marriage, and will rather go without food altogether upon occasion than break this tabu (Im Thurn, 222). The newly-married pair among the Wa-teetas are shut up for three days without food, and among the Bondeis they eat nothing and only wash out their mouths with water on the day of the wedding (Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, London, 1827, 343; *JAI*, 1895, xxv. 199). Similarly with the Thlinkets, bride and bridegroom must fast for two days, then eat a little food, and again fast for two days (*NR* i. 111).

(b) The custom of a woman's abstaining from certain foods or fasting before the birth of a child, in which abstinence the husband frequently joins her, is intimately associated with and has the same rationale as the husband's fasting during the period of the couvade in which he lies in instead of his wife. The reason for the practice of fasting here is the intimate connexion between parents and child which is emphasized at such a time, so that they must abstain from all such foods as might injure the child through eating them. Thus in the Andaman Islands the mother abstains from pork, turtle, honey, iguana, and paradoxurus, and after a time her husband avoids the two last, 'in the belief that the embryo would suffer were he to indulge in such food' (*JAI*, 1882, xii. 354). Among the California Indians the mother fasted for three days after the birth, drinking nothing but warm water. This formed part of a ceremony of purification, and for two moons she was allowed no meat (*NR* i. 413). Where the couvade is concerned, the husband usually abstains for some weeks from all flesh food and lives on a very abstemious diet, and such customs are widely prevalent among most savage peoples (see art. COUVADE, and Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, London, 1870, 16 ff.).

(c) In many cases where fasting occurs at initiation, we almost see it passing over from its magical intention of the avoidance of evil influences and of a preparation for the reception of new food to an act of religious preparation for the divine and ethical revelations about to be made to the lad. A similar transition to a more religious view of fasting is seen in other cases. Among many peoples when the harvest, whether of corn, yams, bananas, etc., has been gathered in, no one may eat of it until the first fruits have been offered to a divinity or partaken of by a priest, chief, or king, and in some cases a fast of several days' duration takes place. This, though it is primarily a preparation for the reception of new food, is also part of a group of purificatory rites, while it has also a religious element. Thus, among the Creek Indians, part of the elaborate ceremonies included a strict fast for two nights and one day, while a bitter decoction was drunk in order 'to purge their sinful bodies.' This was followed by a sacramental eating of the new crops (Adair, *Hist. of the Amer. Ind.*, London, 1775, 96 ff.). A similar solemn fast took place among the Natchez for three days along with the observance of silence at the Fire Festival, when the maize was offered on the altar of the Sun; and was also observed among the Cherokees by the warriors, who at the same time abstained from sexual intercourse (Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique*, Paris, 1835, 130 ff.; Featherman, *op. cit.* iii. 157). The Comanches had yearly gatherings to light the sacred fires, when they took 'medicine' for purification and fasted for seven days. Those who could endure to keep the fast unbroken became sacred in the eyes of the others (Palmer,

Harper's Magazine, 1889, xvii. 451). Again, where foods are tabu, either through totem restrictions or for some other reason, abstinence from them is frequently regarded as an honour done to the totem animal or to a divinity who would resent any breach of the rule, or it has the nature of a sacrificial act of self-denial. Thus among the Samoans, Fijians, and others, certain animals, which were probably earlier totems, were believed to be incarnate gods or sacred to particular deities, and each man had some particular animal species, which he would under no circumstances eat (Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, 112; Williams, *Fiji*, Lond. 1858, i. 219). Or among the Andaman Islanders at certain seasons a number of foods are abstained from because the god Puluga requires them at those times (*JAI* xii. 154). Or, as among various West African tribes, certain prohibited foods, or *orunda*, which a man will not eat even when suffering from hunger, are 'literally a sacrifice ordained for the child by its parents and the magico doctor as a gift to the governing spirit of his life,' and to eat of it would be a sin at once punished by the spirit and requiring atonement by expensive ceremonies and gifts (Nassau, *op. cit.* 78; M. H. Kingsley, *Travels*, 456), or they are not eaten because they are dedicated by man to the use of his attendant spirit (Dennett, *Folk-lore of the Fjort*, London, 1898, xxix.). Abstinence in all such cases is a religious rather than a magical act.

(d) Fasting to induce visions in which the spirits or divinities reveal themselves has already been noticed, but a few further instances will serve to show the austere character of the act. The Algonquins would fast six or seven days, 'till both their bodies and their minds became free and light, which prepared them to dream' (Tylor, ii. 411-412). Chiefs among the Columbians in times of perplexity practise both fasting and laceration (*NR* i. 203). In general, the American Indian fasted before any undertaking in order to receive direction in his dreams. Among the Caribs a father fasted for a long period in order to see in a vision the destiny of his newly-born son (Müller, *Amer. Urrel.* Basel, 1855, 214). Similar fasts were customary in Greece among the priests and priestesses of oracular shrines, in order to obtain visions (Paus. i. 24); and in India fasting is a recognized mode of obtaining intercourse with the gods (Meiners, *Gesch. der Relig.* Hanover, 1806-1807, ii. 147). The visions and revelations obtained by Christian saints and ascetics are in some degree due to similar austerities.

(e) From the use of abstinence and fasting as a general religious act to its use as a species of sacrifice by which the gods are appeased, or as a penitential discipline, the step is not a long one. Instances of such uses are found mainly among barbaric and civilized peoples, though not unknown among savages; while fasting, either as a means of purification, or as a penitential discipline, or as a preparation for mystical illumination, rapidly became part of the practice of the Christian Church. Penance, including fasting, self-torture, and confession of evil, is found among many tribes of the American Indian stock, but among the ancient Mexicans it had an especially prominent place. Some fasts of a rigorous kind lasted from three to five days; others, probably less rigorous, from twenty to 180 days. These were binding upon either individuals or the whole people, were intended both as purifications and as penances, and, in the latter form, were accompanied by other extreme forms of self-discipline for sins committed. Such were generally imposed by the priests (Clavigero, *Hist. Mex.* London, 1787, i. 353, 397 ff.). Fasts of a similar character and intention were also common in Peru. In Babylonia and Assyria fasting had also a systematic form, either for the whole people in times of danger (cf. *Jon* 39), or for individuals as part of the penitential discipline with which men approached the gods seeking forgiveness, as is seen in the penitential psalms, e.g. 'Food I have not eaten, weeping is my nourishment' (Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab.* Lond. 1898, 332; Sayce, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt and Bab.* Edin. 1902, 418, 477). The more primitive savage custom of appealing to the gods through the pain borne by their worshippers is seen in a Fijian custom. A priest, after unsuccessfully supplicating his god for rain, slept for several successive nights exposed on the top of a rock without mat or pillow, hoping thus to move the obdurate deity to send a shower (Williams, i. 232).

In certain cases men fast until some act of revenge is performed, as in Fiji, where, to indicate sworn revenge, a man would deprive himself of favourite or necessary food (Williams, i. 129). Compare the curious Celtic custom of 'fasting against' a person (see ASCETICISM [Celtic]). This was a legal process in Ireland, by which any one who desired a stronger person to yield to his plaint sat fasting at his door until he yielded (*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1869-79, i. 112 ff., ii. 46; Joyce, *Social Hist. of Ancient Ireland*, Lond. 1903, i. 204-207).

7. Mourning ceremonies.—Here again universally in savage and barbaric life the death of a relative or of some chief or great warrior, etc., involves the practice of many austerities, varying in degree, among the survivors. The motive of these is complex; and, though all may be regarded as different ways of showing grief, it seems certain that they did not all originate from that ground. Among mourning ceremonies of a simpler and less painful class may be enumerated wailing, wearing old or unusual clothes, the rejection of ornaments, rubbing charcoal, clay, and other substances on

the body, shaving the hair or allowing it to grow unusually long, the discarding of pleasant food or of customary unguents, sleeping on the grave or in the open air (cf. Nassau, 10; Williams, *Fiji*, London, 1858, i. 4; M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, 483, 487; Haddon, *Head Hunters*, 206; *JAI*, 1905, xxxv. 417). But others of a much more severe character are also extremely common, e.g. gashing or cutting the body, amputating a finger, and fasting.

(1) The origin of gashing or cutting the body may be found simply in an ecstatic expression of grief, at first spontaneous, then reduced to a custom. The pain caused by such methods of wounding, though in the ecstasy and delirium of grief it may be less than we imagine (Beckworth says of the horrible gashings of the Crow Indians that 'they seemed to feel no pain,' *14 RBEW*, p. 898), is itself an expression of sorrow. But other meanings were perhaps given to these self-inflicted wounds. Thus there may have been some idea of union with the dead through the blood spilt on the grave, as in N. S. Wales, where the men stood over it and cut each other with their boomerangs, letting the blood trickle down into it (cf. W. R. Smith, 305). This bond of union with the dead implies 'on the one side submission, on the other friendliness' (Spencer, *Cerem. Inst.*, London, 1879, 70). Or, again, the blood may be an offering to the dead in order to refresh them (*ib.*; cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, i. 476). In either case the rite would have a propitiatory aspect. It is found among the Australians, Melanesians, Polynesians, in Africa and America, and it existed in ancient Israel (*Lv* 19²), among the Greeks, Turks, Huns, etc. (cf. Stoll, *op. cit.* 88 ff.; Spencer, *op. cit.* 70-71), and with some of these peoples assumed a ghastly form, while it was frequently proportionate to the rank of the dead person. The wounds included lacerating or cutting the arms, breasts, or legs, piercing them, slitting the ear lobes, wounding the head, etc. Thus the Crow Indians made two cuts down the length of the arm, tearing away the skin, or cut the flesh on the breast and shoulders (*BE*, *loc. cit.*); the Tongans cut and bruised themselves with shark's teeth, shells, axes, clubs, and knives (Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, London, 1817, i. 380, 403); the Spartans tore the flesh from their foreheads with pins and needles to gratify the ghosts of the dead (Potter, *op. cit.* ii. 204). The descriptions of mourning ceremonies among all savage tribes supply copious instances of the severity of these lacerations.

(2) The mutilation of some member of the body, usually a finger, occasionally an ear, is also found as a common sign of grief at mourning ceremonies. Spencer regards this as an act of sacrificial propitiation of the dead and a sign of submission (*op. cit.* 56), and it certainly has the significance of a propitiation of divinities or spirits, e.g. in cases of illness, etc. (see § 8, 2). In some cases it may be regarded as a substitute for human sacrifice, giving a part in place of the whole, as when a widow has her finger chopped off in the Nicobar Islands, evidently in place of being slain at her husband's grave (Tylor, ii. 363). But it might readily become a formal expression of grief, as in Fiji, where, on the death of a chief, orders were given that a hundred fingers should be cut off (Williams, i. 197). Yet even in Fiji a child's finger was cut off as a sign of affection for a dead father (*ib.* i. 177). Usually a joint or the whole of the little finger is cut off, though another finger may be removed later when this is lacking. This painful custom is found among some Australian tribes, in Tonga and Fiji, among various N. and S. American Indian tribes, among the Hottentots

when a widow re-marries, and occasionally with Chinese widows as a sign that they will not re-marry (Stoll, *op. cit.* 274 ff.; Spencer, *op. cit.* 55 ff.; Kolb, *Caput Bonæ Spei*, Nuremberg, 1719, 572; Giles, *China and the Chinese*, London, 1879, 202).

(3) The custom of fasting is here met with once more as a natural expression of mourning, often of a severe and prolonged character. The Fijians fasted for a dead chief for ten or twenty days (Williams, i. 197). Some of the Salish tribes of British Columbia fast for four days after a death, while a widow must not eat fresh meat for a year, a widower for a shorter period (*JAI*, 1905, xxxv. 138-9). The Andamanese must abstain from certain favourite foods, and here relations are often joined in this custom by other members of the tribe as a token of sympathy (*JAI*, 1882, xii. 142, 146). The Japanese partake only of a spare vegetable diet during the period of mourning, while in Korea the mourners drink rice water for some days, and then are allowed to partake of gruel for the rest of the time (*JAI* xii. 225, xxv. 350).

(4) Finally, though the custom of a wife's being slain at her husband's death may have become a mere customary rite, and though its origin may be sought in sacrificial ideas and in the belief that she must accompany him beyond the grave, it is frequently found as an extreme act of austere devotion, the wife devoting herself to death out of affection. Instances of this are found in Fiji (Williams, i. 189), where wives were frequently sacrificed at their own instance; in India, where a wife lit the pyre with her own hands; in China, where wives will take their own lives to follow their husbands into the next world (de Groot, *Rel. System of China*, Leyden, 1894, ii. 1. 735 ff.); among the ancient Greeks, with whom historic instances of this suicidal devotion are recorded (Euripides, *Supp.* 1000 ff.; Paus. iv. 2. 7); and among the ancient Celts (Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London, 1905, i. 105; cf. Cæsar, vi. 19, slaves and clients beloved by the dead; Mela, iii. 2. 19; see artt. SĀTI and MOURNING).

8. Mutilations.—A great variety of ethnic mutilations involving a considerable degree of pain may be classed among austerities. Each one of these may have a different origin or intention, some may be mere customary or symbolic followings of archaic rites, but this makes no difference in the degree of suffering which is borne or in the stoical patience with which it is endured (see art. MUTILATIONS).

(1) The custom of *cutting the body* and using the blood for some specific purpose is widely extended, and has already been met with as a mourning ceremony.

(a) It is found as part of the ceremonies of initiation in various quarters. Thus in North Central Australia the final ceremony among several of the tribes consists of making a series of cuts on the back and one on the neck of the candidate. These are said to commemorate certain events in the *Alcheringa*, or mythical period (Spencer and Gillen^b, 335). A similar rite is found among S. Australian tribes (Schürmann, in *Nat. Tribes of S.A.*, Adelaide, 1879, 231 ff.). Scars are also made on the face and body at puberty among the Ba-Mbalas (*JAI*, 1905, xxxv. 402) and elsewhere in Africa (Burton, *Abeokuta*, London, 1863, i. 104; Denham, *Travels in Africa*, London, 1828, iii. 175: 'the process is said to be extremely painful on account of the heat and flies'). These appear to be of the nature of totem or tribal marks. Among the Abipones the marks were made with thorns, and ashes were rubbed into the wounds—a species of tatuing (Dobrizhoffer, ii. 36 ff.).

(b) Cutting or gashing the body in order to obtain blood, usually for magical purposes or for use in various ceremonies, is found all over Australia. Thus among the Dieri two men are bled with a sharp flint, and the blood is allowed to flow on others of the tribe. The ceremony was intended to produce rain, the blood representing rain (Gason, in *Nat. Tribes of S. Aust.* 276). Among the Wiradthuri tribes, at initiation rites men wounded their gums or the flesh under their tongues with sharp pieces of bone, and allowed the blood to fall on the seat used in the ceremony; and among the Kamilaroi, at the *bora*, quantities of blood were collected from gashes made in men's arms with flint or shell (*JAI*, 1895, xxv. 301, 325). Among the Central Australian tribes 'it is astonishing what an enormous amount of blood is used for decorative purposes by these savages, one of whom will think nothing of bleeding himself perhaps twice a day for a week or two in succession.' Here it is also drawn from gashes in the body for a variety of other purposes—to seal a covenant, to be administered as a strengthening potion, or applied to the body of the sick or aged (Spencer-Gillen^b, 596 ff.). Among the Basutos the hands of those who have carried a corpse to the grave are scratched with a knife, and magic stuff is put into the wounds to remove the contagion of death (*GB*² i. 302). Here, too, may be mentioned a group of customs already alluded to (§ 5), in which the inhabitants of a district divide into two parties and engage in a sham fight, in which, however, severe blows are given and received, blood is shed, limbs are broken, and sometimes life itself is taken, the fight lasting for some hours. This fight takes place at some given moment in the processes of agriculture, and has for its object the promotion of fertility. The *rationale* probably is that the blood shed fertilizes the earth, for among the Acobambans of Peru women caught the blood and sprinkled it on the fields (Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, Jena, 1860, iii. 73). Similar fights, more or less severe, have been observed among the Tongans, American Indians, African tribes, among the Khonds, in China; they occurred in the form of stone-throwing in Greece at certain festivals; and they still occur in modified form in European folk-custom (see Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 267).

(c) Incisions in the flesh and blood-letting are also customary before marriage in many places. Incisions which leave raised scars are made on the bodies of young men and women among the Kikuyus of E. Africa, the purpose being ornamental (*JAI*, 1905, xxxv. 255). Elsewhere the blood-letting, followed by each spouse drinking or swallowing the blood in food, has the purpose of uniting them, and shrinks in some cases to a mere symbol (Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 385; see artt. BLOOD, BROTHERHOOD [artificial]). Or, again, the opening of a vein in both bride and bridegroom is a species of blood-offering, mainly among American Indian tribes (Zückler, *op. cit.* 80).

(d) Frequently the making of scars and cicatrices, painful as the process is, seems to have mainly an ornamental purpose, as among the Australians (Spencer-Gillen^b, 56), Tasmanians and Melanesians (Letourneau, *Sociology*, 80), and N. American tribes, e.g. the Thlinkets (*NR* i. 97), though with most of these they are also made for other purposes. Among West Coast African tribes, with whom tatuing is rare, cicatrices are made by cutting the skin and then placing in the wound the fluff of the silk cotton tree (M. H. Kingsley, *op. cit.* 530). In New Guinea women make scars on the chest when a brother spears his first dugong (Haddon, 113).

(e) Finally, gashes are frequently used to draw blood as a propitiation of the gods. Thus, among

the Mosquito tribes of Central America, besides sacrifices to influence the gods before war or any important undertaking, blood was drawn from tongue, ears, or other parts of the body (*NR* i. 723, 740). Similar gashings were made by the priests of Baal (1 K 18²⁸, cf. Jer 41⁵), the Aztecs at the feast of the Earth-goddess, and the Peruvians, both of whom drew blood from gashes in arms, legs, ears, nose, etc. (Garcilasso de la Vega, i. 52; Zöckler, *op. cit.* 84). These are sometimes thought to be relics of earlier human sacrifice, like the commutation of a human victim among the Gauls, who made an incision in the victim's flesh (Pomp. Mela, iii. 2, 18). But possibly they may have been intended to promote union with the divinity through the vehicle of blood. Connected with this is the custom of self-castration seen in the Phrygian worship of Cybele and analogous cults in Syria, etc. In these the priests also wounded themselves in the arms and scourged each other (Tert. *Apol.* 25; Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 50). Similarly in the Roman cult of Bellona the priests made gashes in their shoulders and the blood was sprinkled on the image of the goddess and used in the sacrifices (Lactantius, i. 21; W. R. Smith, 304).

(2) *Amputation of fingers*.—This practice, already met with as a mourning ceremony, is also found sporadically as a sacrificial observance. In sickness Bushmen sacrifice a joint of their fingers (Farrer, *Prim. Manners and Customs*, London, 1879, 143). The Cochimis of California, when all other means had failed, cut off a finger from a daughter or sister of a sick man, in the belief that the blood would preserve him (Adelung, *Gesch. von Califor.*, Lemgo, 1769, i. 76). This was also done by the Tongans in cases of illness as a propitiatory offering to the gods, while a man would also cut off his own finger to avert their anger when danger threatened (Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, i. 454, ii. 210). During initiation the candidate among the Mandans held up his finger to the Great Spirit expressing his willingness to offer it, and then had it chopped off with a hatchet (Lewis and Clarke, *Travels*, London, 1817, 86). In India the practice is found in custom and myth. Mothers will cut off their own fingers as sacrifices for the preservation of their children, while Siva is said to have cut off his finger to appease the wrath of Kali (Tylor, ii. 401). Mothers in Bengal frequently draw blood from their chests, when a husband or son is ill, to propitiate the goddess Chandika (Rajendralala Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, London, 1881, i. 111). This may also have been a Celtic practice, since in one legend Ethne the Horrible is said to have cut off the ends of her children's little fingers to make them longer-lived (Windisch-Stokes, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1891–1897, iii. 363). We may compare with these rites the Chinese custom of cutting pieces of flesh from the thighs, while offering a prayer to Heaven to accept this as a species of self-immolation on behalf of a sick relative, who then was given the flesh to eat (de Groot, *op. cit.* iv. 2, 386).

(3) *Circumcision*.—This has already been found as one of the rites of initiation to manhood; and, in general, where it occurs it is performed at puberty, though sometimes, as with the Jews, it takes place in childhood. We are not concerned here with the various reasons assigned for it by the different peoples who practise it, or with its original intention, though this may have been, as already suggested in other cases, to ward off danger from the whole organ by removing a part, which part might also harbour dangerous influences. What concerns us here is the painful nature of the rite, and its wide-spread use. Practised by many peoples of antiquity, Egyptians and others (Herod. ii. 104), it is found among most African tribes, in

N. and S. America, in Polynesia, Australia, and parts of Melanesia, and sporadically elsewhere. Among most of these peoples it is regarded as a disgrace not to have it done, or as rendering a man unclean. If the patient shrieks or cries, this is frequently considered unmanly, but occasionally he is in such a frenzied state as not to feel pain at the moment. But sometimes, besides the actual pain of the cutting, the youth has to undergo other ordeals. Thus, among the Bantu peoples of W. Africa cayenne pepper is squirted on the wound (Nassau, *op. cit.* 12), and among the Mavendas of S. Africa the candidates are subjected to exposure for some time in a nude condition and to treatment of a harsh nature (*JAI* xxxv. 268). See art. CIRCUMCISION, and Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen*, Leipzig, 1889, 166 ff.; Ploss, *Das Kind*, Leipzig, 1884, i. 340 ff.; Stoll, *op. cit.* 499 ff.; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, Edinburgh, 1885, 360; *L'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1896, vii. 653 ff.

(4) The practice of *sub-incision* or *mika* or *pura-ariltha-kuma* has already been referred to (§ 2). This terrible rite involves the slitting open of the under side of the urethra, and is found in Queensland, N. S. Wales, S. Australia, and among N. and W. Australian tribes (Spencer-Gillen^a, 212 ff.; *ib.*^b 133, 328 ff.). Analogous to this is the custom of semi-castration, practised, according to Kolb, by the Hottentots (*op. cit.* 420 ff.), though it has been questioned by later observers; it is also found among the Ponapes in the Caroline Islands and in the Friendly Islands (Finsch, *ZE* xii. 316). For other mutilations of the sexual organs for different purposes among the Dayaks, Battas, ancient Romans, etc., see O. Hovorka, *Mitt. der Anthr. Gesell. in Wien*, 1894, xxiv. fasc. 3; *JAI*, 1892, xxii. 45; Stoll, *op. cit.* 496 ff., 921 ff.

(5) Girls at puberty among many separate peoples must also undergo the equally painful rite of excision, probably with the same original intention as circumcision, and like it frequently an initiation ceremony. It is found among various African peoples, in Nubia, Abyssinia, Galla and Masai Lands, on the west coast, and also in the south, while it is also met with among several S. American peoples, occasionally in N. America, and sporadically in Indonesia (Stoll, *op. cit.* 523; Ploss, *Das Kind*, i. 379 ff.; Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, 60 ff.; Martius, *Zur Ethnog. Amerikas*, Leipzig, 1867, 445; *JAI*, 1904, xxxiv. 133). With it may be classed the cutting or artificial rupture of the hymen, mainly among several Australian tribes, but occurring elsewhere also. With the Australians it is an initiatory rite, and also serves as an immediate preparation for marriage (Spencer-Gillen^a, 93; *ib.*^b 133). Even more painful is the rite of 'infibulation' of marriageable girls, which is found mainly in the Nile region, the Sudan, Galla and Somali Lands, Nubia, Kordofan, and the Abyssinian highlands, and also in Pegu (Stoll, *op. cit.* 548 ff.).

(6) Among other forms of mutilation causing considerable suffering may be mentioned (a) knocking out one or more of the front teeth, usually as an initiation ceremony, though various interpretations of its purpose are current among those who practise it, and with some it is regarded as an ornament. Perhaps arising as a preparation for the reception of new food at puberty, it soon became a mark of acquired manhood, and sometimes, as with the Kavirondos, any one not undergoing it endangered his life in battle (Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, ii. 728). Among many Australian tribes it is found as a regular initiation ceremony performed only on youths, but among the central tribes it has ceased to be so, and is performed on both sexes indifferently (Spencer-Gillen^a, 588 ff.). The custom is found among most African tribes.

Bantu and Negro; in N. America, e.g. among the Seri Indians, who practise it on girls before marriage (17 *RBEW*, p. 169); in Formosa among the Pepos, who think it assists breathing (Ploss, *Das Kind*, ii. 424); while it was practised by the ancient Peruvians, who regarded it as a punishment ordained on their ancestors and binding upon themselves, or as a service rendered to the divinity (Garcilasso de la Vega, ix. 3; Herrera, *Historia general*, Madrid, 1730, v. 6, 1). It is also found as a mourning mutilation at the death of a chief in the Sandwich Islands (Ellis, *Tour through Hawaii*, London, 1826, 146).

(b) Filing the teeth, usually to sharp points, grinding them down, and breaking part of them, are found sporadically, sometimes as initiation ceremonies. Among the Malays the first method takes place soon after circumcision; the rite, though painful to behold, is borne with great patience (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, 355). Elsewhere, as in Sumatra, Borneo, etc., the teeth are filed, broken, or pierced, and then ornamented with gold or blackened, the operation sometimes causing great pain (Marsden, *Sumatra*, London, 1811, 52; *Hist. gén. des voyages*, Hague, 1757, xv. 97; Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, ii. 78). But the custom is also supposed to preserve the teeth. Filing the teeth was also practised by the Mayas of Yucatan (Diego de Landa, *Relación*, Paris, 1864, 31), as it is still among some East African tribes (*JAI*, 1904, xxxiv. 138), and peoples of the Congo region (Stoll, *op. cit.* 255); and, as among the Californian tribes, they were ground down to the gums (*NR* i. 333 f.; see also Frazer, *Totemism*, Edinburgh, 1887, 28; *ZE* xiv. 213).

(c) Making holes or slits in the nose, lips, cheek, or ears, in which are inserted various objects, is a world-wide practice, and, though regarded as a means of ornamentation, was probably in its origin of a magical character (the objects serving as amulets), while it was also and still is in many cases associated with initiation rites. Frequently the hole or slit is begun in childhood, but the permanent object is inserted only at puberty. Only the most extreme instances of this form of mutilation need be referred to here. Among the Thlinkets the under lip of female children is pierced and a small object inserted. As time goes on, a larger object is placed in the slit to extend the aperture, causing a painful and continuous strain, until, at the age of maturity, a grooved block of wood sometimes six inches long and half an inch thick can be inserted (*NR* i. 99). The Botocudos of S. America treat the under lip and the ear lobe in the same manner, gradually enlarging the apertures, until wooden plugs of a considerable size can be inserted, the ear lobe sometimes reaching to the shoulder (von Wied-Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien*, Frankfurt, 1820, ii. 5). Every variety of these mutilations, either singly or together, is found over the American continent; lip-slitting occurs in Africa, ear-slitting and ear-extension in Fiji, Easter Island, and the Nicobar islands, while ear-piercing, with a religious significance, occurs all over India, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula (see Stoll, *op. cit.* 98 ff.; Hovorka, 'Verzierungen der Nase,' *Mitt. der anthr. Ges. in Wien*, xxv. pts. 4 and 5, 1875; 3 *RBEW*, p. 76 ff.).

(d) The well-known and painful custom of deformation of the foot among Chinese women is regarded as the chief point of beauty and attractiveness, while it has apparently also some erotic character. The process is begun in early childhood by bandaging the feet firmly so that all growth is hindered, until they become little more than stumps, rendering walking a matter of difficulty (Brandt, *Sittenbilder aus China*, Stuttgart, 1895, 53 ff.; Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, Leipzig, 1904, i.

173 ff.). A similar custom is found among the Kutchin Indians, where a child's feet are bandaged to prevent growth, small feet being there thought handsome (Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, London, 1851, 384).

9. Tatuings.—This custom is of world-wide extent; but while every variety of motive is ascribed to it, it frequently has a religious or magical significance, and it is commonly done as an initiation rite. Among the Eskimos the process usually consists in passing a needle and thread dipped in soot below the skin (Egede, *Besch. von Grönland*, Copenhagen, 1790, 153). More usually pricking the skin or cutting it, and then rubbing in some pigment, is resorted to. Or in some cases figures are cut or canterized on the skin and the cicatrices painted, as in the Deccan and among the Mosquito Indians (Forster, *Voyage round the World*, London, 1777, 588; *NR* i. 716). Still, however done, the process involves much suffering, especially where great parts of the body are tattooed; but to shrink from it or to show signs of suffering is held as evidence of cowardice. Mørenhout says of the operation in Polynesia that it was the cause of such sufferings that sometimes the girl died under them. Yet in spite of this the operation, which is a tedious one, is seldom or never refused (Wilson, *Miss. Voyage*, London, 1799, 339). Nearly every observer of the actual carrying out of the process speaks of its extremely painful and even dangerous character. Hence it may be regarded, for whatever purpose it is undergone, as by no means the least serious of the many kinds of austerities practised by lower races. Thus, when it is undergone at puberty, it affords a test of the individual's capacity for enduring pain and showing courage (cf. *JAI*, 1882, xii. 331). Where it has a religious significance, as in Fiji, where it was held to have been appointed by the god Ndengei, it may be regarded as a kind of offering made to a divinity, while it also secured the entrance to, or the recognition of the individual in, the other world, un-tattooed persons being there subjected to torture (Williams, *Fiji*, i. 160; cf. *FL*, 1894, v. 33, 318; Hall, *U.S. Explor. Exped.*, Philadelphia, 1846, 99, for other instances). The practice of making marks or designs on the body by cuts or scars, into which some pigment is often rubbed, is found among many peoples, especially those with darker skins (Australians, Tasmanians, Papuans, etc.), and must involve considerable suffering. See art. TATUING; Joest, *Tatowiren, Narbenzeichnen und Körperbemalen*, Berlin, 1887.

10. Medical austerities.—The methods of healing used by the medicine-man, or doctor, in savage societies are often of a drastic and acutely painful nature, though they are generally borne submissively by the patient. Resting mainly upon the theory that all disease is caused by evil spirits, the object of the treatment is to drive these away or to obtain possession of the object which they have placed in the body. Hence a great part of the treatment consists of yelling and singing, noises of all kinds, dances, and fumigations. But in addition the patient is subjected to a variety of vigorous remedies wrought upon his person. Among the most common of these are scarifying the flesh and bleeding. Thus among the Andamanese the flesh is cut with quartz or glass flakes (*JAI*, 1882, xii. 85), elsewhere, as among the Dinkas (*JAI*, 1904, xxxiv. 156), with knives, and sometimes, as among the Bondeis, a very smarting medicine is rubbed in (*JAI*, 1895, xxv. 215). Similar scarifications are used by many other peoples—Australians, Papuans, American Indians, both north and south. A primitive method of cupping is found in different parts of Africa, consisting of making an incision in the flesh, placing a horn above the incision, exhausting the air by

suction, and then closing the orifice. The horn is then gradually filled with blood (Nassau, *op. cit.* 183). Sucking the surface of the skin till it is blistered, or sucking blood from an incision in the flesh, is common, *e.g.* in N. America (Bancroft, *passim*; Pétitot, *Traditions indiennes*, Paris, 1886, 434). There, too, kneading and pounding the body violently, and pressing the fists into the pit of the stomach until the patient's strength is exhausted, are in great favour, and occasionally the medicine-man bites the patient with his teeth and shakes him (*NR* i. 246, 355; Kane, *Wanderings*, London, 1859, 225). Another remedy is to make the skin smart by applying pungent spices, or by stinging it with ants or whipping it with nettles (*GB*² i. 301, iii. 216). This, like flagellation in cases of madness, is intended to drive off the demon of disease. A favourite remedy for fever and other diseases among American Indians is the sweat-bath. This is a small hut which by various means is heated to suffocation. In it the patient is placed, and afterwards, dripping with perspiration, he rushes out and plunges into cold water. This treatment sometimes causes death, but it is also in use as a purificatory rite (*NR* i. 246, 285). A similar remedy for madness is found in Gabun (Nassau, *op. cit.* 273). It is to be noticed also that sometimes the relatives of the patient, or even of the medicine-man, fast, to assist the progress of the remedy (Ploss, *Das Kind*, i. 150; Dall, *3 RBEW*, p. 426). See Bartels, *Medecin der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1893.

II. Self-restraint.—A certain degree of self-restraint, especially in marital relations, though scarcely coming under the heading of 'Austerities' as do other forms of self-restraint, *e.g.* fasting, is found on particular occasions among lower races and may be taken notice of here, since it shows the power of current theories or beliefs or customs to strengthen the will even of a savage, and cause it to stifle bodily desires. Thus, though the ultimate purpose is no doubt different, such forms of self-restraint are yet akin to the self-discipline and continence of later forms of asceticism. Examples of continence are most marked during war or hunting, the intention probably being the avoidance of possible loss of strength and also of the potential dangers lurking in sexual relations generally. But in some cases the prohibition has assumed a religious sanction, especially among American Indian tribes. The Winnebagos observe continence in war because it was commanded by the Great Spirit; among other tribes it is said to be based on religious grounds, and the Dakotas thought that the violation of captives would be resented by the spirits of the dead (Drake, *Ind. Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1884, i. 188; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthrop.*, Leipzig, 1859-1871, iii. 158; Schoolcraft, *op. cit.* iv. 63).

A religious motive is also to be seen in those cases where such continence has become a binding form of tabu, as among the Maoris, with whom, not only during war, but on other important occasions, women are strictly tabu to men, who must not approach their wives until war is over (*JAI*, 1889, xix. 111; Waitz-Gerland, vi. 349). This is also found in parts of New Guinea, where the warriors are *helega*, or sacred, for some days before fighting, and must not even see a woman (Chalmers, *Pioneering in N. G.*, London, 1885, 65). But the original basis of such continence may be seen in the Seminole belief that connexion with women enervated men and unfitted them for their duties as warriors (Schoolcraft, v. 272); or, as in Halmahera, that they must practise continence during war else they will lose their strength (Riedel, *ZE* xvii. 69). This rule of continence is practically universal among savages, and applies to

the period immediately preceding war or during the actual course of the war, while it also appears at higher levels of civilization (cf. Cæsar, vii. 66; 2 S 11¹¹). The rule also applies frequently before or during a hunting or fishing expedition. Chastity is part of a seven days' tabu among the Malays when fishing (Skeat, *op. cit.* 315), but a similar rule prevails generally in such cases; while, as among the Aleuts, it is connected with religious beliefs, since during a whaling expedition unfaithfulness on the part of the men or their wives would be punished by the whale, an object of reverence to them (Reclus, *op. cit.* 53). In some cases, too, the rule of continence is accompanied by fasting, ceremonial preparations, and the infliction of pain. Thus, among the Nukkas, before war, some weeks are spent in preparation, which consists mainly of abstinence from women, bathing, scrubbing the skin with briars till it bleeds, and finally painting the whole body jet-black (*NR* i. 189). Among the Bondeis a man is scarified down the arms as a charm against sword-cuts (*JAI*, 1895, xxv. 205); while, before hunting, the Indians of Guiana subject themselves to the stings of ants and the irritation caused by the hairs of certain caterpillars (Im Thurn, 229). Again, probably on the principle of sympathetic magic and the intimate connexion between a man and his wife, fasting and other forms of rigorous discipline are enjoined on women in many quarters while the men are absent on war or the chase, as in the Babar Islands, where women must fast and abstain from sexual intercourse (Riedel, *Selebes en Papua*, Hague, 1886, 341).

The rule of continence is also followed in various other circumstances. In Congo, when the *Chitomé* is on circuit, a fast of continence is proclaimed, the penalty for breaking it being death. By such continence 'they preserve the life of their common father' (Reade, *Savage Africa*, London, 1863, 362). Strict continence is also observed by men during the Cherokee new year's festival of purification already referred to (§ 6(c)). It is also a common tabu after slaying a man or teaching the dead, here probably connected with the contagion of death, which necessitates the avoidance of one's fellows till a certain time has elapsed or certain purifications have been performed. Fasting frequently accompanies continence on such occasions. Contact with women is forbidden for one month after the shedding of blood among the Kikuyus of E. Africa (*JAI*, 1904, xxxiv. 264); and among the Natchez, after the first scalp-taking or securing a prisoner, the warrior had to abstain from seeing his wife or eating flesh for a month (Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744, vi. 186; cf. Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 375). In many places continence must be observed for a time after marriage and after a birth (Crawley, *op. cit.* 345 ff.; Lubbock, *op. cit.* 81).

Even among savages chastity on the part of the priesthood is sometimes a necessity. Thus Algonquin priests were ordained to a life of chastity, and could not eat food prepared by a woman (*NR* ii. 212), and in Yucatan the 'captain,' during his three years' tenure of office, had to observe the same rule (*ib.* ii. 741). This corresponds to the general rule of chastity found among higher priest-hoods, while there, too, celibate orders are found, *e.g.* those in Mexico dedicated to the service of Quetzalcoatl, and the virgins of the sun in Peru, who, though regarded as the brides of the Inca, had otherwise, on pain of a cruel death, to live in chastity, in this exactly resembling the Vestal virgins in Rome (Zöckler, *op. cit.* 85; Prescott, *Peru*, London, 1890, 53; cf. also the purity enjoined on the Roman Flamen Dialis and his household).

See also the articles on ASCETICISM.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

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